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OUTLINES

OF THE

HISTORY OF ROME.

WITH

QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

EDITED BY HENRY WHITE,
B. A. TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, M. A. AND PH. DR. HEIDELBERG;
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for the Use of Schools.

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PREFACE.

THERE is indeed no lack of excellent Manuals of Roman History; but nearly all of them are designed for advanced students, while the smaller treatises are generally mere abridgments of works that are now obsolete. It thus appeared that there was need of an introductory volume worthy of an age remarkable for its astonishing progress in the elucidation of the annals of Rome; and the present Outlines have accordingly been prepared for the purpose of supplying a want that must often have been felt by enlightened teachers. The Author has endeavoured to give a concise but clear and connected view of the leading events, from the earliest times down to the overthrow of the Western Empire in A. D. 476; and it is hoped that, while in many cases this introduction may serve to create a desire for more minute and critical study, it may at the same time furnish those who cannot hope to enjoy such advantages with a correct general survey of Roman history.

EDINBURGH, *January* 1857.

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HISTORY OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC, B. C. 753—509.

Introduction—Italy and its Population and Languages—Foundation of Rome—The seven Kings: Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, Tarquinius Superbus.

1. INTRODUCTION.—From the mainland of Europe three peninsulas of different size and form stretch far south into the Mediterranean Sea. The middle one of these, narrower and longer than the other two, and not inferior in beauty and fertility, is Italy, the theatre to which for about five centuries the energies of Rome were confined. In ancient times the name was at first applied to the southern extremity only of the peninsula; but it was gradually extended to other parts also, until at length it comprised nearly the whole region, from the rivers Rubicon and Macra in the north to the Straits of Sicily. In the reign of Augustus the name included the entire district from the Alps to the Ionian Sea and the Sicilian Straits, and has so continued in use until the present day. Italy is traversed from north to south by a range of mountains called the Apennines, which sends forth its ramifications both to the west and east, and terminates in promontories at the southern extremities of the peninsula. From these mountains, which are connected in the north-west with the Maritime Alps, numerous rivers and streams flow down towards the Tyrrhenian or Lower Sea, as well as towards the Adriatic; while the Padus or Po, the largest river of Italy, and its numerous northern tributaries, have their sources in various parts of the Alps.

The time at which Italy received its first inhabitants is unknown; but it is now a generally received opinion, that nearly all of them belonged to the great Indo-Germanic family of nations, from which the Greeks also descended; and that they immigrated into the peninsula from the north, and were gradually pushed southward as fresh immigrants pressed upon them from the same quarter. These immigrations must have taken place at different times, and the people we ultimately find in the southernmost parts were in all probability the most ancient inhabitants of Italy, while the latest invaders permanently established themselves in the north. The tribes mentioned in the different parts of the peninsula are very numerous, but they may be classed in the following groups: 1. The *Iapyges* in the southernmost parts of Italy, especially the south-eastern, which retained its name of Iapygia down to the latest times. These Iapyges were the earliest inhabitants of Italy, and like the rest belonged to the Indo-Germanic stock of nations, whence the Greeks, who in later times established themselves along the coasts of their country, easily amalgamated with them. There still exist some inscriptions as yet undeciphered, which are presumed to be in their language. 2. The *Central Italian Tribes* were very numerous, and embraced those nations which gave to the history of Italy its peculiar character; whence they may be called the Italians Proper. To them belonged the Umbrians, the Sabellians (Sabines and Samnites), Latins, Marsians, and Volscians. They all spoke languages which, although differing only as dialects of the same tongue, may nevertheless be divided into two branches, viz. the Latin and the Umbrian, the latter embracing the Marsian and Sabellian. The language of the Latins is sufficiently known from the literature of the Romans, so far as it has come down to our time, while the dialects of the Umbrians, Sabellians, and Marsians are known to us almost exclusively through inscriptions which have been discovered in the districts where they formerly lived. 3. The *Etruscans*, *Tuscans*, or *Tyrrhenians*, who inhabited in the historical times the north-west of Italy, between the Tiber, the sea, and the river Macra in the north, are the most mysterious people in ancient history. All we are told about their religion, their manners, customs, and institutions is so different from what we know of the other Italian nations, that they seem to be a people of quite a different character and origin. Their language, though we possess numerous inscriptions in it which are written in the Roman characters, is as yet unintelligible; but still there are certain indications which tend to show that even the Etruscans were a branch of

the great Indo-Germanic stock. They seem to have been highly civilized at a time when Rome was yet in her infancy; but it is clear that, whatever was the state of their civilisation, it was not so much of indigenous growth, as the result of an influence exercised by Greeks, whose mythical legends are often to be found on the sculptured monuments of the Etruscans. They occupied at one time the whole of the north of Italy as far as the foot of the Alps, but appear at a still earlier period to have dwelt in the valleys of the Rhætian Alps: and as their native name was Rasena, it is possible that it may contain a reminiscence of their having once dwelt in Rhætia. 4. The *Gauls* or *Celts* were the latest immigrants into Italy, where they are said to have arrived in the reign of the first Tarquin. They descended from the Alps, and having expelled the Umbrians and Etruscans, established themselves in the country between the Alps and the Apennines, which from them received the name of Gallia Cisalpina, to distinguish it from Gallia beyond the Alps (Gallia Transalpina). They often attempted to make conquests in the more southern parts of the peninsula, and on one occasion even took and destroyed Rome; but they never succeeded in permanently establishing themselves in the central parts of Italy. 5. The *Greeks* founded numerous colonies along the coasts of Southern Italy, as they did about the same time on the coasts of Sicily. Cumæ, the most ancient of these colonies, is said to have been built more than 1000 years before Christ, and Thurii, the most recent, was planted in B. C. 443. It was owing to these numerous Greek settlements that the southern part of Italy was called Great Greece (Magna Græcia); and as the aborigines they found there were people of kindred origin, they soon coalesced with them into one nation. These Greek colonies exercised an immense influence upon the culture and development of the tribes in middle or central Italy, as is evident to any one examining the languages and the religion of those people.

2. LATIUM AND THE LATINS.—Latium, the country inhabited by the Latins (*Latini*), a branch of the central Italians, was bounded on the north by the Tiber, which separated it from Etruria; on the south by Campania; on the west by the Tyrrhenian Sea; and on the east by the country of the Sabines and Samnites. At one time, however, the Latins under various names extended along the western coast of Italy as far as the Straits of Sicily, and even occupied a portion of that island itself. The names under which the Latins, or at least branches of the nation, are mentioned in the south-western

parts of Italy are: Ausones, Opici or Osci, and Siculi. In the southern parts their national character did not remain so pure as in Latium, where they were not surrounded by Greek colonies. The neighbouring nations, however, obliged them to devise means of securing their independence; and in order to protect themselves effectually from the aggressions of their neighbours, the Latins at an early period formed themselves into a political confederacy, consisting of thirty towns, of which Alba Longa was the head. In all probability Rome itself was originally one of these thirty towns of Latium. There is a story that, after the destruction of Troy, Æneas with a few followers landed on the coast of Latium, founded the town of Alba, and became the progenitor of the Alban dynasty of kings. Whatever truth, if any, lies at the bottom of this narrative it is impossible to say, for the whole of the early history of Rome, down to its capture by the Gauls, is so vague and legendary, that all attempts clearly to separate truth from fiction have signally failed.

3. Romulus and the Foundation of Rome.—The legend, for as such only it can be regarded, which relates the foundation of Rome, is as follows: Procas, king of Alba, had two sons, Numitor and Amulius, and at his death left his kingdom to Numitor the elder. Amulius, however, overcome by a strong love of power, usurped the throne, and compelled Numitor to retire to his private estates. In order to secure himself from any attempt of his brother's family to vindicate their claims, Amulius caused Numitor's son to be put to death, and forced his daughter, Rhea Silvia, to become a vestal virgin. But in spite of these precautions his designs were frustrated, for Rhea became by Mars the mother of twins, Romulus and Remus. Amulius, determined to get rid of the infants, caused them to be exposed in a basket on the banks of the Tiber, which happened to have overflowed the country. Here again he was defeated, for when the waters subsided, the basket with the children was left on dry land, where they were found by a she-wolf. The wolf conveyed them to her den which was close by, and suckled them; it is also said that when they were in want of other food, they were fed by a wood-pecker. At last this curious spectacle was observed by Faustulus, one of the shepherds of Amulius, who carried the children to his hut on the Palatine, and brought them up with his own sons. As they grew up to manhood, they became celebrated for their beauty and strength, and surpassed all the other shepherds in deeds of daring and valour. On one occasion they quarrelled with Numitor's shepherds who fed their flocks on the Aven-

tine: Remus was taken prisoner and brought as a robber before Numitor, who, being struck by his appearance, inquired into his history, and discovered him to be his own grandson. On learning their origin, the brothers determined to avenge the wrong done to their grandfather. With the aid of their comrades, they killed Amulius, and restored Numitor to the throne of Alba. Elated with their success, the brothers resolved to build a town on the Palatine, where they had passed the years of their childhood; but no sooner had the first walls of Rome been raised than the brothers quarrelled as to what name the city should bear, and who should rule over it. In the heat of the dispute, Romulus slew his brother, which act afterwards caused him deep remorse. The foundation of Rome is generally assigned to the year B. C. 753; but this cannot be looked upon as an historical fact, as a town had no doubt existed on the spot long before this.

In order to increase the number of settlers in his little city, Romulus, it is said, threw open the gates to all who would come and take up their abode in it. Runaway slaves, exiles, and even criminals, all found a welcome reception in Rome. This, however, was not sufficient, for as these strangers brought no women with them, the entire population would soon have died out. Romulus therefore endeavoured to enter into a treaty with other communities, by which his subjects might obtain wives from other states; but as no one would agree to such an arrangement, he determined to effect by stratagem what he could not procure by other means. Proclamations were issued that certain festivals and games were going to be celebrated at Rome. To these festivities Romulus invited his neighbours, the Sabines and Latins. Numbers of strangers accordingly flocked to Rome, bringing with them their wives and daughters, quite unsuspicious of the snare that was prepared for them. No sooner were they all assembled than the Romans fell upon them and carried off the women. The Sabines, indignant at this violation of the sacred laws of hospitality, returned home vowing to avenge their wrong, and this threat they soon carried into execution by attacking Rome in great force. The contest was long and doubtful, and fortune seemed first to favour one side and then the other. At length, when both parties were completely exhausted by the struggle, the Sabine women, anxious to reconcile their husbands and relatives, threw themselves between the combatants and brought about a peace. In the treaty which was thus concluded, it was also agreed that the Sabines, under their king Titus Tatius. should build for themselves a

new town on the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, and that they should be united with the Romans in one state. This happy union did not, however, continue for any length of time, for after Titus Tatius was murdered at Lanuvium, no new king was elected, and Romulus remained sole ruler of both Sabines and Romans.

There are very few legends relating to the remaining years of the reign of Romulus; but he appears to have been of a warlike character, and is said to have been successful against the Etruscan towns of Fidenæ and Veii. In later times the Romans very naturally ascribed the foundation of their political constitution to the founder of their state. Thus he is said to have divided the people into three distinct tribes: the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. The Ramnes were the original inhabitants of Rome; the Tities were the Sabines, so named from their king Titus Tatius; but it is doubtful who the Luceres were, and at what time they were really incorporated with the Roman state. The probability is that Rome originally consisted of only the first two tribes, the Ramnes and Tities, and that the Luceres did not form a part of the state until the time of the elder Tarquin. Each of these tribes is moreover said to have been divided into ten curiæ, and each curia into a number of gentes or clans. The senate consisted originally of one hundred members, but after the union with the Sabines the number was increased to two hundred: it was not raised to three hundred until the time when the Luceres were added as a third tribe. In addition to the three tribes who constituted the sovereign people, there was a considerable class of persons called clients (*clientes*) and slaves (*servi*). The person to whom a client was attached was called his patron (*patronus*, from *pater*, father); from which it would appear that the relation between a patron and his client resembled that between a father and his child. Some writers also speak of plebeians in the time of Romulus, and regard them as identical with the clients; but it is highly probable that plebeians in the proper sense of the term did not exist at Rome at this early period; their distinct existence in Roman history begins in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, when Alba Longa was taken and destroyed by the Romans.

The death of Romulus is said to have occurred in the same marvellous manner as his birth; for one day, while he was reviewing his people, Mars descended in a cloud and bore his son up to heaven. It was further believed that after his ascension he became a god like his father, and under the name of

Quirinus ever after watched over the welfare of Rome. He is commonly supposed to have reigned thirty-eight years, from B. C. 753 to 716.

4. NUMA POMPILIUS.—After the death of Romulus, a whole year was allowed to elapse without any successor to the throne being appointed, and the government was conducted by a succession of interreges; but at last, in accordance with the wish of the Sabines, Numa Pompilius, one of their number, and celebrated for his wisdom and piety, was raised to the regal dignity. The first act of his reign was to conclude peace with all the neighbouring peoples with whom Rome had been at war. Having thus secured the city from outward attacks, he made it his great aim to establish a greater degree of civil and religious order than had hitherto existed in the little state. He is said to have first regulated the calendar by instituting the lunar year of twelve months, or three hundred and fifty-five days. The Flamines, or priests of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus; the vestal virgins; the twelve Salii; the pontiffs, who exercised supreme power in all religious matters; the augurs, whose duty it was to ascertain the will of the gods by the flight of birds,—all these, according to the legend, owed their origin to him. He built several temples, and among others that of Janus, which remained closed during the whole of his reign as a sign that Rome was not at war with any state. It is said that he was advised and aided in all these enterprises by the counsels of a divine being, the nymph Egeria, who made her revelations to him in a cave. His whole reign, which extended over a period of forty-three years, from B. C. 715 to 672, was marked by no wars or any other public calamity. The history of Numa Pompilius is quite as mythical as that of Romulus, and it is certain that many of the institutions which are ascribed to him must have existed long before among the Sabines and Latins; and if there be any truth in the account of his reign, it can only be that he regulated and organized those religious institutions, which in some form or other had existed from time immemorial among his people. It may be here observed that the religion of the Romans, like that of the Greeks, was simply a worship of nature and her various powers personified. The Greeks, however, being of a more poetical turn, clothed their religious views in numberless stories from which the Roman religion was originally quite free.

5. TULLUS HOSTILIUS.—The successor to Numa was Tullus Hostilius, who was chosen from among the Ramnes, and was in every respect the very opposite of his predecessor, for his reign was an uninterrupted series of wars against his neigh-

bours, and the Roman people became so elated with their successes that they entirely neglected all religious duties. Soon after Tullus Hostilius ascended the throne, a war broke out with Alba, which was at that time governed by C. Cluilius. The issue of the struggle seemed for some time very doubtful, till at last both sides agreed that three champions should be chosen from each army, and that whichever party proved victorious should rule over the other. From among the Romans the three brothers Horatii were chosen, while the Alban army was represented by the three Curiatii. Two of the Horatii were slain soon after the commencement of the contest, but the third remained unhurt, while all the three Curiatii were wounded. Horatius, perceiving he could not make any effectual resistance to their united strength, feigned flight, and was pursued by the Curiatii. The latter unwisely were each pursuing him at some little distance from the others; and when Horatius perceived their mistake, he turned on them and slew them one after the other. As Horatius was returning home in triumph, carrying with him the garments of the slain as tokens of victory, his sister came forward to meet him, and burst into tears on seeing among these garments one which she had woven with her own hand for one of the Curiatii to whom she was betrothed. Enraged at her conduct on such an occasion of public rejoicing, Horatius ran her through with his sword. For this outrage he was condemned to death, but the people acquitted him in consideration of his important services and the attendant circumstances. Although this story must not be regarded as entirely historical, it is nevertheless certain that somewhere about this time the Romans gained a victory over the Albans. The latter, according to the terms of the treaty, were bound to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, but they submitted with great reluctance, and during a war between Rome and Fidenæ treacherously resolved to desert to the Fidenates. Their intentions, fortunately for Rome, were discovered in time. Tullus Hostilius ordered their commander to be put to death, and caused their city to be razed to the ground. Many of the noble Alban families received the Roman franchise; but the mass of the people were annexed to the Roman state under the name of *plebs*, *plebes*, or *plebeii*, and formed the first element of that great class of people of whom we hear so much during the period of the Roman republic. The name *plebs* or plebeians was given to them to distinguish them from the *patres* or *patricii*, the term applied to the old Roman citizens of the Ramnes and Tities, who were the real *populus Romanus*. Towards the end of his reign,

Tullus Hostilius became seriously alarmed at the signs of displeasure manifested by the gods at the neglect of their worship. He tried in vain to appease their wrath; and he and his whole house were destroyed by Jupiter with a flash of lightning. He reigned thirty-two years, from B. C. 672 to 640.

6. ANCUS MARTIUS.—The fourth king of Rome was Ancus Martius, a Sabine from among the Tities. He was the grandson of Numa Pompilius, and combined in his character the wisdom and piety of his great ancestor with the more valorous qualities of Tullus Hostilius. The Latins, who had been forced to conclude peace with the late king, now again rose in arms, relying upon the apparently peaceful disposition of Ancus Marcius. But they soon discovered their mistake, for, after repeated endeavours to invade the Roman territory, the king gained a complete victory over their united forces near Medullia. Many thousands were taken prisoners and conveyed to Rome. The king assigned to them the plain between the Aventine and Palatine hills. They, together with the conquered Albans, were incorporated with the Roman state, and formed an immense mass of people without any distinct organization, their exact position and relation to their conquerors being left vague and undefined: they were, as we have before mentioned, distinguished by the name of plebs from the old citizens, the patres or patricians. Although the plebeians were personally free, they had no political rights, and all marriages between patricians and plebeians were illegal, there not existing between the two orders what is called *connubium*, the right of contracting legal marriages. Their only organization consisted in their being divided into gentes or clans like the other Italian tribes.

Ancus Martius extended his dominion as far as the mouth of the Tiber, where he built Ostia, the seaport of Rome. The first wooden bridge across the Tiber was erected under his superintendence, and he incorporated the hill Janiculum with the city of Rome as a protection against Etruria. He reigned twenty-four years, from B. C. 640 to B. C. 616. Ancus Martius combined more than any of his predecessors the arts of peace and war, and was always regarded by the plebeians as the founder of their order. The account of his reign has more the appearance of real history than that of any of his predecessors, though it does not follow that it can be regarded as more trustworthy.

7. TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.—All the traditions relating to Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome, agree in describing him as a foreigner, and as being descended from a noble

Corinthian family which had settled at Tarquinii, in Etruria, where he was born. As he found that, on account of his foreign descent, he could never rise to any position of influence in his native town, he resolved to remove to Rome. Here he rapidly gained the favour of Ancus Martius, and on the death of that monarch was unanimously elected king. His reign, like his predecessor's, was marked by success in war and great domestic improvements. He commenced his reign by a war with the Sabines, which he speedily brought to a successful termination. In accordance with a vow which he had made during this war, he began the building of the great Capitoline temple, and dedicated it to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The peace which was concluded after the struggle with the Sabines was not destined to be of long duration, for a fresh war now broke out with the Latins. He took their towns in rapid succession, till at length the whole of Latium was conquered.

Even more important, however, than these wars were the great architectural improvements which he made during his reign, and the remains of which may be seen at this present day. One of these is the great sewer (*Cloaca Maxima*), by means of which the lower parts of the town, such as the Forum, were drained, and some of the valleys, which up to that time had been little better than swamps. It was owing to his influence that the Roman religion, which had been previously of a peculiarly simple and unpretending nature, assumed so much of its subsequent splendour. It was at this time that the gods were first represented under the human form. It is also said that he increased the number of senators from two to three hundred, from which it would seem that the Luceres were then first incorporated into the state. After a reign of thirty-eight years, from B. C. 616 to B. C. 578, he was murdered at the instigation of the sons of Ancus Martius, who had never ceased to regard Tarquinius as a usurper, and an obstacle to what they considered to be their birthright.

8. Servius Tullius.—The origin of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome, is very uncertain, but he is generally supposed to have been the son of a slave belonging to Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus. He was brought up in the king's palace, and finally married one of his daughters. On the death of Tarquinius, Servius Tullius, aided by Tanaquil, ascended the throne, and in order to conciliate the sons of the late king, he gave them his own two daughters in marriage. His reign has been made famous by his great political reforms and the organization he gave to the plebeians. He divided the whole body of the plebs into thirty local tribes, each one pre-

sided over by a tribunus. Four of these tribes belonged to the city, and the remaining twenty-six to the surrounding country. These tribes were entitled to meet for the discussion of their affairs in an assembly called *comitia tributa*, to distinguish them from the meeting of the patricians, the *comitia curiata*. He further changed the political constitution, by making property instead of mere birth the standard by which the political rights and duties of all the citizens were to be determined. In order to carry this measure into execution, he established the *census*, which was to be held every five years, and according to which he divided the entire nation into five property classes; these classes were again subdivided into one hundred and ninety-three centuries (*centuriæ*) or votes. The assembly of these centuries (*comitia centuriata*) now represented the whole body of the Roman people, both patricians and plebeians, and they together exercised that power which had hitherto belonged to the patricians exclusively; the patricians in their comitia curiata retaining only the power of sanctioning or rejecting the measures passed by the centuries, and of determining such matters as affected only their own order. This reform, though apparently of a somewhat violent nature, practically left things very much as they had been before, for birth and property in most countries belong to the same classes of persons; and as the members of the first or wealthiest classes voted first, and had a larger number of votes than all the rest, all power was practically in the hands of the first classes, which no doubt consisted for the most part of patricians. But at the same time a road was opened by which every Roman, however humble, might acquire a power equal to that of the wealthiest patrician. Some writers mention a sixth class in the Servian constitution, consisting of persons who had no political rights, were exempt from military service, and bore the name of *capite censi* or proletarians.

9. Tarquinius Superbus.—These reforms, which must have been very distasteful to most of the patricians, led to a revolution, during which the aged king Servius Tullius was murdered and his constitution overthrown; but which tradition has clothed in the following tragic story. One of Servius' daughters, a woman of gentle disposition, was married to Lucius Tarquinius, a man ready for any crime that would forward his ambitious designs. The second of the king's daughters, the very reverse of her sister, was married to the unaspiring Aruns Tarquinius. As she saw that her husband was indifferent to the succession, which he seemed willing to concede to his more energetic brother Lucius, she resolved upon his de-

struction, and accordingly came to an understanding with Lucius, who was to kill his own wife, in order that, afterwards being united with herself, they might together devise means of getting rid of Servius Tullius, whose long life was an obstacle to the realisation of her ambitious schemes. When these preliminary crimes were accomplished, Lucius Tarquinius entered into a conspiracy with the discontented patricians, and it was determined to deprive the aged king of his throne and his life. One day, when most of the plebeians were engaged in agricultural pursuits at a distance from the city, Lucius Tarquinius, decorated with the ensigns of kingly power, and accompanied by an armed retinue, entered the senate-house, where he conducted himself as if he were the real sovereign. Servius Tullius, being informed of this, hastened to the curia, and upbraided his rebellious son-in-law for his behaviour; but the latter, mad with rage, seized the old king and hurled him down the stone steps of the building. The king's faithful servants, who found him stunned and bleeding, attempted to remove him to his own residence; but before this was effected they were overtaken by the emissaries of Tarquinius, and the king was murdered and left weltering in his blood in the street. Not long afterwards, the guilty wife of Lucius, overjoyed at the success of her schemes, hastened to the senate to congratulate her husband; but even he, hardened as he was, felt ashamed of her conduct and ordered her to return home. On her way she had to pass the street in which her father's body was lying. On perceiving it the driver stopped, but Tullia commanded him to proceed, and as the chariot passed on, Tullia's garments were stained with the blood of her own father. The street in which this atrocious deed was committed was ever after called the *Vicus Sceleratus*, that is, the accursed street. The people long cherished the memory of the man who had laid the foundation of plebeian liberty, and on the *nones* of every month celebrated the birthday of "the good Servius."

Lucius Tarquinius, commonly surnamed Superbus, now assumed the reins of government, without any of the customary forms of election, B. C. 534. His first act was to abolish all the salutary reforms of his predecessor, and thus to throw back the plebeians into the condition in which they had been at the commencement of the reign of Servius Tullius. His unjust and tyrannical conduct, however, was not confined to the plebeians; many of those patricians who had not been particularly zealous in his cause at the time of the revolution, were put to death or sent into exile. The accounts we have of his

reckless tyranny are almost beyond belief; and it can hardly be doubted that the later Romans, in their hatred of the last of their kingly rulers, magnified and exaggerated his faults; for it is evident that he must have been a man of great ability and military skill. During his reign, Rome acquired more power and influence than she had ever before enjoyed. He compelled the Latins to conclude a treaty, whereby Rome was recognised as the head of their confederacy; Suessa Pometia, a wealthy city of the Volscians, was taken and plundered, and the booty there made was spent upon the completion of the Capitoline temple which had been commenced by his father. He also founded several colonies, such as Signia and Circeii, whereby he strengthened and extended the power of Rome. But while he was thus spreading the terror of his name abroad, his conduct in the administration of the state excited discontent and opposition, for it was but too evident that he was aiming at absolute power; and the patricians who had hoped to obtain from him the restoration of their ancient privileges were sadly disappointed when they found that so many of the senators were put to death or exiled, and that even the few who remained were never consulted by the king. The plebeians also were sorely oppressed by the wars, heavy taxation, and by the hard task-work which he demanded of them in fortifying and embellishing the city. The feelings manifested by all classes made the king himself uneasy. In addition to this he was harassed, it is said, by dreams and prodigies which betokened some impending calamity. In his alarm at all this, he sent two of his sons, Titus and Aruns, to consult the oracle of Delphi, then the most celebrated in the ancient world. On this journey they were accompanied by their cousin, L. Junius Brutus, a young man of clear intellect and judgment, but who had feigned idiocy to escape all suspicions on the part of his uncle. After having obtained the information desired by their father, the two brothers could not resist the temptation to inquire of the oracle who should be king of Rome after their father's death. The oracle declared that he who should first kiss his mother on his return home should succeed to the throne. The brothers agreed to kiss their mother simultaneously, and thus to share the kingly dignity. But Brutus, who had understood the true meaning of the oracle, on landing on the Italian coast, fell as if by accident to the ground and kissed the earth, the mother of all.

Not long after this event, the Romans, who were engaged in a war against the Rutulians, were besieging the city of

Ardea. The two sons of Tarquinius, and their cousin Tarquinius Collatinus, during the protracted siege, were one day discussing the merits of their wives, each one praising his own above those of the others. As it was impossible to settle the dispute in the camp, it was agreed that they should return to Rome in the stillness of night, and see how the women were occupying themselves. The wives of the two sons of the king were found entertaining a number of friends at a splendid banquet; but on proceeding to Collatia, the residence of Tarquinius Collatinus, they found his wife Lucretia engaged in spinning in the midst of her maids. Her beauty fired Sextus Tarquinius, one of the king's sons, to such a degree that he resolved, after a few days, to return to Collatia in the absence of her husband. He was hospitably received, as being a near relative; but at midnight he entered her chamber and threatened to kill her, to place a dead slave by her side, and to declare that he had detected her in the act of adultery, if she refused to gratify his lust. By these combined terrors he gained his end; but on the following morning Lucretia sent for her husband and father, and when they arrived, accompanied by P. Valerius and L. Junius Brutus, she related to them the outrage committed upon her, and having implored them to avenge it upon the perpetrator, she plunged a dagger into her breast. This was the spark producing the conflagration which had long been threatening: Brutus drew the dagger from the breast of the unhappy woman, and loudly demanded the destruction of the house of Tarquinius. The assembled friends heartily agreed, and carried the body of Lucretia to the market-place of Collatia. All the people who heard the sad tale at once took up arms, and promised to follow their leaders. Brutus then proceeded to Rome, where his harangue produced the same effect as at Collatia. In his capacity as *tribunus celerum* (commander of the horse) he summoned the people to the Forum, where a decree was passed deposing the king, and banishing him and his family for ever. Brutus then, leaving behind Lucretia's father in the command of the garrison at Rome, hastened to attack the king in his own camp before Ardea. On his arrival, the soldiers at once confirmed the resolution of the Roman people. The king, however, who had heard of what was passing at Rome, had in the meantime proceeded thither by a different road to counteract the revolutionary movement; but finding the gates closed against him, he took refuge in the city of Cære in Etruria.

This revolution, which happened in the year B. C. 510, put an end to the kingly government at Rome. How far the

story is to be relied upon as historical cannot be ascertained; but it can scarcely be doubted that Tarquinius Superbus was the last king of Rome, and that his rule was tyrannical and oppressive to all classes of his subjects. The current account of this revolution represents it as having been accomplished within a few days, and without bloodshed; but there are circumstances in the subsequent history of Rome which render it probable that it was the work of a much longer time, and was not brought to a satisfactory termination without a protracted struggle. During the period which is closed by this event, Rome had been an elective monarchy, and it is only under the later kings that we hear of sons claiming the right to succeed their fathers. The king was at all times chosen by the patricians from among their own body; and by certain religious ceremonies he was consecrated as the chief civil magistrate, the supreme commander of the armies, and the high priest of the nation. He was, however, limited in the exercise of his power by a council or senate (*senatus*), the members of which were indeed chosen by the king himself; but as their normal number was three hundred, it seems probable that, in some way, they were the representatives of the three tribes and the thirty curiæ. The senate, besides being the king's council, had also to prepare the measures which were to be brought before the assembly of the curiæ, and afterwards of the centuries: such as those relating to peace and war, the election of magistrates, and legislative enactments. Without the previous deliberation of the senate (*senatus-consultum*), no matter could be brought before the assembly, which might either adopt or reject it.

The number of Roman kings is uniformly stated in the traditions to have been seven; but if we consider the long duration of their reigns, the regularity with which the whole period is subdivided, and if we bear in mind that they were elective kings, most of whom ascended the throne at an advanced age, it can scarcely be doubted that the whole period is made up artificially, and that Rome was governed by more than the supposed seven kings.

As so little reliance can be placed upon the traditional history of the regal period, it might almost seem hopeless to expect any trustworthy information about the civilisation of the Romans during the same period. But all historical legends, even though they were wholly fabulous, nevertheless reveal to us a state of society which must, in its main features, be true to nature. Thus it is certain, beyond all doubt, that the Romans, even in the remotest ages of their history, lived

in fortified towns or cities, under a regularly organized government; that they loved and cherished agriculture as the noblest pursuit of a free citizen; and that they constructed architectural works of a grandeur which has excited the admiration of all succeeding generations. The art of writing must have been known to the Romans at a very early time, as we may infer from the census lists alone, though it was not employed for literary purposes. The first brass coins at Rome are said to have been made by King Servius Tullius, and each piece is believed to have been marked with the figure of some domestic animal (*pecus*), whence *pecunia*, the Latin name for money.

EXERCISES.

1. What country was meant by the word Italy in the earliest period; state how it gradually extended; and who gave it to the whole peninsula? Describe the course of its mountains and rivers. How was Italy peopled, and by whom? Name the groups into which the early population was divided. Give an account of each group.

2. The boundaries of Latium. What was the Latin Confederacy? Who is said to have founded Alba?

3. Narrate the legend of Romulus and Remus. Date of the Foundation of Rome. What was the origin of the Sabine War? What its result? Describe the Roman constitution, as supposed to be founded by Romulus. What became of this king?

4. Who was the next king? What temple did he build? What institutions were founded by him? How long did he reign?

5. Who was the third king? Tell the story of the Horatii and Curiatii. What became of the Alban people? Distinguish between the plebs and the populus.

6. Who was the fourth king? By what people was he attacked, and with what result? Where were the conquered Latins settled? What towns did Ancus build?

7. Who was the fifth king? What was his origin? What conquests did he achieve? What public works and buildings were constructed in his reign? What was his end?

8. Who was the sixth king, and what was his birth? What political reforms did he introduce? Distinguish between the comitia curiata, comitia tributa, and comitia centuriata. Who were the proletarians?

9. Who was the seventh king? What tragic events led to his accession? How did he treat the plebeians? What were his conquests, and what colonies did he found? Relate the story of the embassy to Delphi. What act led to his downfall? When did this take place?

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE SUBJUGATION OF LATIUM, B. C. 509—338.

Establishment of the Republic—First Wars of the Republic—First Feuds between Patricians and Plebeians—Coriolanus and Sp. Cassius—The Fabii—Wars of the Volscians and Æquians—The Decemviral Legislation—Removal of Plebeian Disabilities—Destruction of Rome by the Gauls—Laws of Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius—First Samnite War—Subjugation of Latium.

1. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.—After the successful termination of the revolution, the people, according to the common tradition, assembled and formally abolished royalty for ever. The constitution of Servius Tullius was restored; and at a meeting of the comitia centuriata two republican magistrates, under the title of prætors (afterwards consuls), were elected from among the patricians to conduct the government, B. C. 509. The first two magistrates were L. Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus. Their office was to last only for one year, at the end of which they might be taken to account for the manner in which they had performed their duties. Their functions were the same as those previously belonging to the kings; but the priestly character of the latter was transferred to a distinct officer, called *Rex Sacrorum* or *Rex Sacrificulus*, who had to perform the sacrifices on behalf of the whole nation. The senate and the comitia centuriata retained the powers assigned to them by the Servian constitution. The plebeians, who now formed by far the greater number of the Romans, not only gained nothing by the abolition of royalty, but in some respects were more exposed to oppression by the patricians than before. They were excluded from all the great offices of the state, patricians alone being eligible; in the great national assembly the patricians alone, if united, could carry any measure, without the plebeians having even the opportunity of voting; the administration of justice was entirely in the hands of the patricians; and, lastly, the plebeians were denied, as before, the privilege of contracting legal marriages with the patricians. The numerous wars, moreover, which disturbed the young republic during the first period of its existence, weighed most heavily upon the plebeians, as they formed the main body of the Roman infantry.

The republican institutions, though perfectly in accordance

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The republican institutions, though perfectly in accordance

with the wishes of the great mass of the people, were not very palatable to some of the patricians, who had enjoyed greater license under the rule of the late tyrant. They accordingly entered into a conspiracy to restore the exiled king. But the plot was discovered, and Brutus, with a sternness peculiarly Roman, ordered them all to be put to death, although his own sons were among the conspirators.

2. First Wars of the Republic.—But the safety of the republic was much more seriously threatened from without; for the exiled king had solicited and obtained the aid of Porsena, a powerful chief (*lars*) of the Etruscan city of Clusium. The details of the war with this Etruscan cannot be regarded as historical, and have been much disfigured and embellished in the tradition which has come down to us; for the Romans, like some other nations, had the singular weakness of disguising as much as possible any defeat they sustained in war. Hence, although we know that the Romans were thoroughly beaten by the Etruscans, tradition represents them as having displayed the most heroic valour and gained the most brilliant victories. The Etruscan chief advanced, it is said, close to the banks of the Tiber, and established himself on the hill Janiculum on the right bank. Once the Romans crossed the river to drive him from his strong position, but were obliged to retreat over the wooden bridge (*Pons Sublicius*) which connected the two banks of the Tiber; and the enemy would have pursued them into the city, had not Horatius Cocles, a brave Roman, with two comrades, defended the approach to the bridge against the whole Etruscan army. Meantime the Romans were busily engaged in breaking down the bridge; and Horatius Cocles, having dismissed his two companions, stood out alone against the invading host until the demolition of the bridge was completed. He then dashed into the river, and safely swam across to his own countrymen, amid showers of missiles from the enemy, and was received with enthusiastic joy by his fellow-citizens, who rewarded him with a statue in the comitium, and as much land as he could plough round in a day.

A similar deed of heroic daring is ascribed to a young Roman of the name of Mucius Scævola. During the siege of Rome, the citizens were greatly distressed by famine, when, with the approval of the senate, Mucius Scævola undertook to deliver them from their sufferings. He made his way into the Etruscan camp, and being well acquainted with the Etruscan language, he contrived to gain admission into the tent of Porsena, whom he intended to murder; but he

killed the king's scribe, whom he had mistaken for his master. He was immediately seized by the attendants and carried before the king, who by threats endeavoured to extort from him certain information. Mucius, to show that he feared neither death nor torture, thrust his right hand into the fire that was burning upon an altar. Porsena, astounded at his daring, allowed him to return home unmolested; and from this circumstance Mucius received the surname of *Scævola*, that is, the left-handed.

There are other chivalrous stories connected with this war, in which the Etruscan chief is reported to have displayed a no less noble disposition than the Romans; but however fascinating these tales may be, they have not been able to disguise the fact which we learn from Pliny, that the Romans had to purchase the enemy's departure by giving hostages and ceding to him one-third of their territory. It is also a singular circumstance that Tarquinius Superbus, in whose behalf the war was undertaken, is never mentioned as having taken part in it.

After some successful wars against the Sabines and some towns of the Auruncans in B. C. 505, a more formidable war broke out with the Latins, whom Tarquinius Superbus, through the influence of his friends, is said to have excited against Rome. The war began in B. C. 501; and as all Latium was united against the city, the Romans, in B. C. 498, placed the supreme command in the hands of one man, T. Larcius, whom they made dictator, that is, they invested him with supreme military power for a certain period of time,—a practice they repeatedly adopted whenever the safety of the republic was endangered. The war lasted several years, and was not brought to a close until B. C. 496, at the famous battle of Lake Regillus, in which the gods themselves are said to have been seen fighting in the ranks of the Romans, and to have decided the contest in their favour. But this victory is evidently a mere fiction, since, three years later, the Romans, under Spurius Cassius, concluded a treaty with the Latins, in which Romans and Latins were placed upon a footing of perfect equality, which could not have been the case, had the Latins been in the position of a conquered people. After the battle of Lake Regillus, Tarquinius Superbus is said to have withdrawn to Cumæ in Campania, where he died in 495 B. C.

3. First Feuds between Patricians and Plebeians.—The death of the king at once produced a change in the condition of the plebeians. As long as he was alive and Rome was threatened through his influence by foreign enemies, it

was of the utmost importance to the patricians to keep the plebeians in good humour, because their services were indispensable in the wars. But no sooner had the dangers of a foreign invasion passed away, than the patricians, disregarding every humane consideration, availed themselves of their own rights to the utmost extent allowed by the laws. It will be remembered that the plebeians had to bear the heaviest public burdens, without practically enjoying any political privileges: they were free-landed proprietors whose estates were generally small. In time of war, when they had to serve in the armies, their fields were unavoidably neglected, and in many instances the harvest was destroyed by the ravages of the enemy. The necessary result of these calamities, which were repeated year after year, was that the plebeians became more and more impoverished, and had to borrow the means of subsistence from the wealthy patricians at a usurious interest. The patricians themselves did not suffer in times of war so much as the plebeians; for, independently of their own private estates, they were the sole occupants of the *ager publicus*, that is, the land conquered in war, and legally belonging to the state; which land the patricians cultivated by their clients, who were not bound to serve in the armies, so that the agricultural operations on the estates occupied by the patricians were not liable to the same interruptions as those on the plebeian farms. The law of debt at Rome, as in many other ancient states, was extremely severe, and whenever a debtor was unable to pay his debt at the time agreed upon, the creditor was entitled by law to seize not only all his property, but even the person of the debtor, and make him his slave (*nexus*). Many a plebeian had in this way been reduced to a state of bondage, and forcibly torn from those nearest and dearest to him. When at length the avarice and grasping spirit of the patricians vented themselves upon the plebeians without restraint, the latter rose in open rebellion against their oppressors, and in B. C. 494, migrated in arms to a hill in the vicinity of Rome. There they took their stand, fully resolved not to return until they should obtain redress of their grievances. Several attempts were made to induce them to return, but in vain, until one Menenius Agrippa, who was sent to them as deputy by the senate, prevailed upon them by the well-known fable of the Belly and the Members, to give up their useless opposition. He further promised that their grievances should be remedied; and a solemn compact was entered into between the two estates, according to which all those who had been reduced to slavery for debt should be set free; and five tribunes of the plebs

(*tribuni plebis*) should be appointed to protect the plebeians against any arbitrary proceedings of a magistrate. The persons of these tribunes were to be sacred and inviolate (*sacrosancti*), their houses were to be open at all times, and they were to be always ready to afford assistance. At the same time two plebeian ædiles were appointed, who had to superintend all public buildings, and to control merchants and usurers, so as to prevent an unnecessary rise in the price of provisions. When these arrangements were concluded, the plebeians returned to Rome; and the hill on which the solemn compact had been made was ever after called the Sacred Mount (*Mons Sacer*).

In the contest between the two orders which had thus been commenced, some advantages were indeed gained by the plebeians, but none of the oppressive and obnoxious laws were repealed, and there still remained the seeds of future discord. The history of Rome, for more than two centuries to come, is an almost uninterrupted struggle between an avaricious, grasping, and cruel oligarchy on the one hand, and a commonalty on the other, determined to avail itself of every constitutional means to place itself on a footing of equality with the patricians, so far as this was necessary for its own safety. This long and protracted contest is one of the noblest in the history of mankind; the commonalty gained its point in the end; and it is this contest which makes the history of Rome more interesting to the student than all her wars and conquests.

4. Coriolanus and Spurius Cassius.—During the secession of the plebs, all agricultural pursuits had been almost at a stand-still, and when the people returned to the city there was great scarcity of provisions. Famine began to rage, and when at length supplies were sent from the island of Sicily, a haughty patrician, C. Martius Coriolanus, had the insolence to propose that no portion of them should be given to the plebeians, unless they were ready to give up all the advantages gained by the compact on the Sacred Mount. This proposal so exasperated the plebeians that they caused him to be declared an outlaw, B. C. 491. He took refuge among the neighbouring nation of the Volscians, whom he persuaded to make war against the Romans. He himself led them on against his own country, and encamped at a short distance from Rome. Many attempts were made to check his unpatriotic proceedings, but without effect, until at length he was induced by the tears and entreaties of his own wife and mother to abandon the wicked scheme of humbling his

native country. He is said to have soon after died in the territory of the Volscians, overwhelmed with shame and repentance.

In the year B. C. 486, Spurius Cassius, who some years before had brought about the equal alliance between the Romans and the Latins, concluded a treaty on the same terms with the neighbouring nation of the Hernicans, so that henceforth there existed a confederacy of three nations, Romans, Latins, and Hernicans, who were united on terms of perfect equality. The Romans were thus enabled to carry on a vigorous war against the Volscians, who still held possession of several towns in Latium which they had conquered under the leadership of Coriolanus, as well as against other hostile tribes in the neighbourhood. The same Spurius Cassius is the first Roman who proposed an agrarian law (*lex agraria*), by which the plebeians were to be allowed to occupy a portion of the land conquered in war. Such lands had hitherto been in the exclusive possession of the patricians, who cultivated them by means of their slaves and clients. They were indeed bound by law to pay a small nominal rent to the state as an acknowledgment, but this they often neglected, and looked upon such public land as if it had been their private property. When therefore Spurius Cassius brought forward his proposal, that those plebeians who did not possess any landed property should be allowed to occupy a portion of the public land, he met with the most determined opposition on the part of the patricians. The bill however was nevertheless passed in due form; but its noble author, in the year after his consulship, B. C. 485, was sentenced to death by the patrician curiæ. He was scourged and afterwards beheaded, and the site of his house, which was razed to the ground, was declared an accursed spot.

The patricians, who had not been able to prevent the passing of the agrarian law of Spurius Cassius, did everything to prevent its being carried into effect; they scrupled at nothing; and on one occasion, when the tribune Genucius threatened to prosecute the consuls for not allowing the law to take its course, he was found murdered in his house on the morning of the day of the trial. By this and similar acts the friends of the plebs were for a time intimidated; but the spirit of opposition, once roused, could not be crushed by such means.

5. THE FABII.—While Rome was thus weakening her strength by internal dissension, the neighbouring nations, especially the Etruscans and Æquians, were enabled successfully to invade the Roman territory at different points.

The gens of the Fabii had formerly been distinguished for its haughtiness and pride, and for seven years a succession of their family held the consulship; but latterly they had come forward as the champions of the oppressed plebeians, for which they were denounced by their brother patricians as apostates. It seems that, smarting under this reproach, they resolved to emigrate; but, to disguise their scheme, they offered to the senate to carry on the war against the Etruscan city of Veii at their own expense. The request was readily granted, and three hundred and six Fabii with their four thousand clients marched out against the enemy. Their valorous enterprise was crowned with success in several engagements; but their success made them careless in conducting their operations, and they allowed themselves to be ensnared by an ambuscade of the Etruscans on the little river Cremera, where all were massacred. One member of the clan only survived, who had been left in Rome on account of his youth. This event which is said to have occurred in B. C. 477, seems to be only a popular legend, though not without some historical foundation.

6. WARS OF THE VOLSCIANS AND ÆQUIANS.—In the meanwhile the Æquians and Volscians continued their hostile incursions into the Roman territory. The former are said to have done so notwithstanding a peace they had concluded with Rome, and generally pitched their camp on Mount Algidus. A Roman embassy sent thither was treated with contempt by the Æquian commander, and the Roman camp, after the army had been defeated, was besieged by the Æquians and in imminent danger of being captured. Fortunately some horsemen had escaped to Rome before the camp was surrounded by the lines of the enemy, and had given information to the senate of the state of affairs. The senate immediately appointed L. Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator in B. C. 458; and he forthwith proceeded from his small farm, which he cultivated with his own hand, to Rome; appointed, as was customary, a master of the horse; and called upon all men capable of bearing arms to enlist. In three days all preparations are said to have been completed, and Cincinnatus marched with his army to Mount Algidus. When the Romans heard of the succour that had arrived, they broke through the enemy's lines, and a fearful battle ensued, in which, after a long struggle, the Æquians were so much reduced that they felt obliged to implore the mercy of the dictator. The whole of the Æquian army was ordered to lay down their arms and to pass under the yoke (a kind of gallows formed of three spears), which was the greatest dis-

grace that could befall a vanquished army, and their camp fell into the hands of the Romans. Cincinnatus, who had held the dictatorship only eighteen days, returned to Rome in triumph, was rewarded with a golden crown, and then returned to his farm to continue his former agricultural pursuits. Notwithstanding this defeat, the Æquians still remained masters of Mount Algidus, and continued their hostilities against Rome, until, in B. C. 446, they were so much weakened by a defeat near their town of Corbio, that for a time they were unable to molest the Romans.

7. THE DECEMVIRAL LEGISLATION.—It has already been observed that the whole administration of justice at Rome was in the hands of the patricians, and in this they were under very little restraint, as there existed no written code of laws. The judges, when not guided by hereditary usage, might indulge in the greatest license. They had often been guilty of acts of the most flagrant injustice, and it was of the highest importance to those who suffered under such arbitrary proceedings to have a fixed code of laws, and to become acquainted with the forms of procedure. When demands to this effect were made, the patricians as usual offered the most obstinate resistance, declaring them to be an unlawful attempt to deprive them of privileges hallowed by custom and religion. While this question was discussed, some other measures favourable to the plebeians were carried in spite of all opposition. Thus, in B. C. 471, the tribune Publilius Volero carried laws enacting that the plebeian tribunes and ædiles should be elected in the comitia tributa, and that these comitia should be empowered to pass resolutions (*plebiscita*) on matters affecting the interests of the whole people. During these internal dissensions and disputes, the effects of which were increased by an epidemic, carrying off large numbers of all classes, the Æquians and other enemies indulged in predatory inroads up to the very gates of Rome; and on one occasion, Herdonius, a Sabine, with a band of runaway slaves and other vagabonds, actually succeeded in making himself master of the Capitol, from which he was driven only with the greatest difficulty. Meantime the demand for a written code of laws became more and more urgent, until in B. C. 462, the tribune C. Terentillus Arsa came forward with a bill formally demanding what had so long been an object of desire. He was not indeed successful, but his example roused others to follow in his footsteps, and after several useless attempts, it was at last agreed that the plan of Terentillus should be carried into effect; namely, that the laws established by ancient

usage should be revised and drawn up in a regular code. It was further resolved that three senators should be sent to Athens and other Greek cities to study their laws and constitutions, and to report upon them, in order that the legislative committee to be appointed might have the benefit of their experience. It should be observed that in B. C. 457, three years before this understanding was come to, the number of the tribunes of the plebs had been increased from five to ten, either because the former number had been found insufficient to afford protection to all who claimed it, or because the patricians had devised this scheme, thinking it easier to create dissension in a body of ten than in one of five magistrates.

After the return of the ambassadors from Greece, a commission of ten patricians (*decemviri*) was appointed to draw up a code of laws: they were invested with full powers to act as they thought proper; and it appears that for the time all other magistracies were suspended. These commissioners or decemvirs commenced their duties in B. C. 451, and performed their task to the satisfaction of all parties; but as at the end of the first year their labours were not yet finished, they were allowed to devote another year to their business. Now, however, the decemvirs changed their conduct: they are said to have acted in the most arbitrary manner, and any one who dared express an adverse opinion about their proceedings was cruelly persecuted; nay, they are reported even to have had recourse to the secret assassination of those whom they had most to fear. At the end of the second year of their office the work of legislation was completed, and the laws were engraven upon twelve bronze tablets. But the decemvirs appear to have wished to make their office permanent, and refused to withdraw. It is not impossible that their scheme of usurpation might have succeeded had it not been for the brutal conduct of Appius Claudius, the most haughty and influential among them. He had fixed his desires upon Virginia, the beautiful daughter of a distinguished plebeian, Virginius. As he saw no other way of gaining possession of her, he prevailed upon one of his clients to claim her as his property, under the pretext that she was a runaway slave. Appius Claudius, himself acting as judge in the matter, assigned the maiden to his client, to the great astonishment of the assembled multitude. But Virginius, preferring the death of his daughter to her dishonour, asked and obtained permission to say a few words of farewell to her before parting, and snatching a knife from a butcher's stall in the forum, plunged it into her breast.

This was the signal for a general rising against the decemvirs. The people, alarmed and excited in the highest degree, demanded their deposition; and the army, which happened to be engaged against the Samnites, on hearing of the occurrence at Rome, forthwith returned and took up a threatening position on Mount Aventine. All the plebeians with their families quitted the city, and assembled on the Sacred Mount, declaring that they would emigrate and seek a home elsewhere unless their just demands were complied with. Valerius and Horatius, the most popular among the patricians, were sent as ambassadors, with full power to treat with the seceders. The latter stedfastly refused to return unless the decemvirs were deposed, a general amnesty granted, and the right of appeal against the sentence of any patrician magistrate conceded to them. The ambassadors readily agreed to these demands, which were unhesitatingly sanctioned by the senate, and the plebeians returned to the city. Appius Claudius was thrown into prison, where he put an end to his life; one of his colleagues did the same, and the remaining eight were sent into exile.

8. Removal of Plebeian Disabilities.—The laws of the Twelve Tables, however, remained in force, and formed the groundwork of Roman law down to the latest times. They seem to have been limited to the civil and criminal law, and to have affected the political constitution only in so far as they ordained that the patricians also should become members of the local tribes, and should thereby be entitled to take part in the comitia tributa. All other disabilities of the plebeians remained as before, they being still excluded from the highest magistracy and from a share in the public land; nor were they allowed to contract legal marriages with patricians. The only great advantage gained was that the laws were now written out, and that a knowledge of them was accessible to all. Much room was still left for the more insolent among the patricians to annoy and torment the plebeians. Many of the latter were eager to retaliate, but the great body of them displayed wonderful moderation, and were resolved to gain their ends by lawful and constitutional means. In B. C. 445, the tribune Canuleius brought forward a bill demanding for the plebeians the right of contracting legal marriages with patricians (*connubium*), and carried it, notwithstanding the fiercest opposition. The patricians did not yield until the people once more withdrew in arms to Mount Janiculum; and perhaps even this extreme measure would have failed, if the senate had not thought that custom, stronger than law, would make the change ineffectual. Another bill demanded that the consulship

should be regularly divided between the two orders; but the protracted discussions upon this question terminated in the agreement, that in future, instead of consuls, military tribunes with consular power should be elected annually, but that the senate should have the power to determine whether in any particular year the consulship should be retained. The military tribunes were to be elected indiscriminately from the patricians and plebeians. In this manner the venerable dignity was still reserved exclusively for the patricians, while, on the other hand, it was not difficult in most cases to exclude the plebeians even from the office of consular tribunes. One of the functions, lastly, which had hitherto belonged to the consuls, was transferred to two distinct officers, the censors (*censores*), whose duty it was to hold the census, and assign to every citizen his position in the state. This office was made accessible to the patricians alone. The census was to be held once every five years, which period was called a *lustrum*, though the censors had to perform all their duties within the first eighteen months, the period for which they were elected.

The concession of the *connubium* seems for a time to have somewhat allayed the animosity between the two estates; but still the patricians never neglected an opportunity of wounding and insulting the feelings of the plebeians. A glaring instance of this occurred in B. C. 440. Rome was then sorely afflicted by a famine, and the government was unable to mitigate the evil. At length a wealthy plebeian, Spurius Mælius by name, with his own means purchased large quantities of corn, which he sold at a moderate price to the famishing people. The patricians could not see in this act of liberality anything else but an attempt to gain undue popularity; they even raised a clamour that Mælius was aiming at kingly power, and in the year following once more called the aged Cincinnatus to the dictatorship. Mælius, who had been summoned before the dictator's tribunal, sought protection against the lictors in the crowd who thronged the forum; but Servilius Ahala, the master of the horse, overtook him and slew him with his own hand. Notwithstanding the indignation of the people, Cincinnatus justified the crime, had the alleged traitor's house pulled down, and sold his stores of corn. The power of the patricians was again in the ascendant.

During these internal disputes and struggles, the Roman armies, strengthened by their allies, the Latins and Hernicans, were pursuing a victorious course against the Volscians and Æquians. The city of Fidenæ, which had been colonized by the Romans long before this time, but had often been

guilty of flagrant acts of insubordination, was destroyed in B. C. 426. During its last contest with Rome it had been assisted by the powerful city of Veii. This led to a desperate war against Veii, which, after a siege of ten years, was taken by Camillus in B. C. 396. The account of this siege seems to be almost as fabulous in its details as that of the siege of Troy; but it is certain that at the capture of the place its inhabitants were partly put to the sword and partly sold into slavery. The siege is also memorable because during its progress the senate is said to have first agreed to give pay to the soldiers, who had hitherto been obliged to maintain and equip themselves. This measure no doubt was intended to conciliate the army, and enabled the state to keep the soldiers engaged in the field for longer periods than before. Camillus, the conqueror of Veii, however, drew upon himself the ill-will of both the soldiers and the plebeians; the former detesting him because, as they thought, they had been deprived by him of their due share of the spoils; and the latter, because he opposed the distribution of the conquered territory of Veii among them. Being moreover charged with having secreted a portion of the booty, he went into exile, B. C. 391, at a time when Rome stood most in need of the skill and prowess of her ablest general.

9. Destruction of Rome by the Gauls.—We have already observed that tradition assigned the arrival of the Gauls in Italy to the period when Tarquinius Priscus was king of Rome; and it would seem that from time to time they were followed by other swarms of barbarians, descending from the Alps. A few years after the capture of Veii, B. C. 391, a vast number crossed the Apennines, and laid siege to the town of Clusium in Etruria. The inhabitants of this city applied for aid to the Romans, then the most powerful among the neighbouring people. The Romans at first only sent ambassadors to remonstrate with the Gauls; but the barbarians did not listen to them, and in a battle which was fought between the Gauls and Etruscans, the Roman envoys, who took part in it, slew one of the Gallic chiefs. The barbarians, exasperated, demanded the surrender of the men who in their estimation had violated the law of nations, and as the Romans proudly refused, the Gauls, abandoning Clusium, at once marched against Rome. The hostile armies met on the banks of the little river Allia, a few miles from the capital. The battle there fought was one of the most disastrous in Roman history. The Gauls nearly annihilated the whole of the Roman army, and only a few survived the day, B. C. 390. Rome itself was thrown into

such a state of alarm, that many fled to the neighbouring towns. Those who remained behind were unable to save the city, which fell into the hands of the barbarians, and was destroyed by fire. Eighty venerable old men of high rank, who had sat down in the Forum to offer themselves as a sacrifice for their country, were ruthlessly massacred by the Gauls. The Capitoline Hill alone, to which the most valuable treasures had been removed, was still safe, and defended by a garrison under the command of the brave Manlius afterwards surnamed Capitolinus. For seven months the Romans were besieged in their stronghold. A wet autumn brought on diseases which severely wasted the barbarian forces, and the want of provisions compelled them to spread in separate divisions over the neighbouring country. Accident nearly threw the Capitol into their power; but the sacred geese of Juno, disturbed by the unusual noise of the approaching Gauls, aroused the Roman warders by their cackling, and the enemy were thrown over the walls. But if the Capitol was saved, its provisions were exhausted, and the garrison, after looking in vain for Camillus, came to terms with Brennus, who was eager to return home to repel a tribe of barbarians who had attacked his unguarded eastern frontiers. One thousand pounds of gold was to be the ransom of the city. The weights of the Gauls are said to have been false, and when the military tribune Sulpicius exclaimed against the cheat, Brennus threw his sword into the scale with the warning words: "Woe to the vanquished!" The barbarians withdrew; but Camillus, who had been made dictator by the Roman refugees at Veii, annulled the treaty. He ordered the allies to shut their gates, and attack the isolated divisions. During the blockade, to which 70,000 Gauls had gathered, numerous detachments had quitted the main body in search of provisions and plunder; some had even made their way into Apulia. When they returned, the bulk of the army had departed, all Latium was in arms, and the Roman legions were reorganized. Very few of these scattered Gauls escaped. The people of Cære cut off one division in an ambuscade; Camillus destroyed another near a town whose name has perished. Roman vanity, smarting under recent defeats, magnified these trivial successes into a victory so complete, that it was said not one single barbarian escaped the avenging swords of the soldiers of Camillus.

After the departure of the Gauls, the Roman people, seeing their city in ruins, felt disposed to migrate to Veii, which was still standing, and to establish themselves in its deserted houses; but others were too strongly attached to the place

of their birth to enter into such a scheme, and prevailed upon their fellow-citizens to rebuild their own ruined city, for which they were allowed to avail themselves of the materials that were found at Veii. Rome accordingly was restored in a very hurried and irregular manner, the consequences of which remained visible down to the latest times in its narrow and crooked streets. The plebeians, who had suffered most severely during the Gallic invasion, and after the withdrawal of the enemy had scarcely been able to attend to their farms, were plunged into the greatest distress; and the rapacious patricians eagerly seized the opportunity for enriching themselves by the severe law of debt, which had never been repealed, and which they now carried out to the letter. The sufferings of the plebeians excited the sympathy of Manlius Capitolinus, who proposed the cancelling of a portion of the debts, and the distribution of a part of the public land among the poorer members. His brother patricians had recourse to their usual hypocritical outcry that he was aiming at kingly power, and upon this futile pretext obtained his condemnation. The man who had saved the Capitol was put to death by being hurled from the Tarpeian rock, B. C. 384.

The allies of Rome, the Latins and Hernicans, gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of her reduced condition to renounce their connexion with her; the Etruscans, Volscians, and Æquians also took up arms against the Romans, whom they believed to be utterly helpless; but Camillus, the greatest man at Rome during this period, not only defeated these enemies one after another, but planted two colonies, Sutrium and Nepete, on the Etruscan frontier, and reduced several of the rebellious Latin towns.

10. Laws of Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius.—Although Rome was thus rapidly recovering the position she had lost, yet the distress of the plebeians, notwithstanding some small favours shown to them by the senate, was ever increasing, when, in B. C. 376, Licinius Stolo and Lucius Sextius, two bold and resolute tribunes, undertook to put an end to this miserable state of things. They brought forward three bills: first, that the government by consuls should be restored, and that one of them should always be a plebeian; secondly, that no person should be allowed to occupy more of the public land than five hundred jugera or acres; that whoever possessed more should be compelled to give up the surplus, which was to be granted as full property to the plebeians; and, thirdly, that the interest which a debtor had

already paid should be deducted from the principal which he owed, and that the remainder should be paid in three annual instalments. The patricians are reported to have successfully opposed these measures for a period of ten years; but the tribunes, on the other hand, were equally firm, and by the power of the *veto* possessed by them, they stopped all public proceedings, the election of magistrates, as well as the levy of armies, so that Rome must have been in a state of complete anarchy. Even the appointment of a dictator, one of the common means of intimidating the plebs, was of no avail: in B. C. 367 the patricians were at length obliged to give way, and the bills of the tribunes became laws in due form. In the year following, L. Sextius was made the first plebeian consul; but, in order that the plebs might not enjoy the full honours and powers of the consulship, the patricians stripped the office of one of its main functions, that of administering the law in civil cases, which was now assigned to a distinct officer with the title of prætor, who was to be always a patrician. But all these precautions were of no avail, for within little more than sixty years the patricians were forced to give up their exclusive privileges one after another: the dictatorship was thrown open to the plebeians in B. C. 357, the censorship in B. C. 351, the prætorship in B. C. 337, and the priestly offices of pontifex and augur in B. C. 300, when the equalization of the two orders was completed, and Rome, internally united and strong, was enabled to enter upon that career which made her the mistress of the world.

The good results produced by the Licinian laws soon manifested themselves in the success which accompanied the Roman arms in the contests with foreign enemies, especially with the Gauls, who still continued to roam through Italy and ravage the country in various directions. The wars carried on with these tribes have been immortalized in Roman legends by the marvellous deeds of Manlius Torquatus and Valerius Corvus. On one occasion, in B. C. 358, when the Gauls were encamped on the banks of the river Allia, a chief of gigantic stature stepped upon the bridge which separated the two armies, and challenged any one to come out and fight with him. T. Manlius, a high-spirited young Roman noble, with the consul's permission, accepted the challenge, and during the combat approached the huge Gaul so closely, that the barbarian was unable to wield his arms. Manlius then ran his sword into the monster's belly, and when the enemy was laid prostrate, the youthful champion stripped him of his gold chain (*torques*) and put it round his own neck, whence he received the sur-

name of Torquatus. Eight years later, when another host had advanced to the neighbourhood of Rome, a powerful Gaul addressed a similar challenge to the Romans, which was now accepted by M. Valerius, a young tribune of the soldiers. When the combat commenced, a raven (*corvus*), which had settled upon the helmet of the Roman, flew at each onset into the face of the Gaul, who was thus unable to see his opponent and was slain. Valerius received from this miraculous assistance the surname of Corvus. These repeated contests with the Gauls were an excellent training for the Romans, who under the guidance of Camillus also introduced several improvements in their armour and tactics. The alliance with the Latins also was restored, and Rome was thus in a condition to take the field against the only enemy in Italy that was capable of disputing with her the sovereignty of the peninsula.

11. First Samnite War.—The Samnites in the west of Latium and Campania occupied a far more extensive country than that of the Latins and Romans put together. In early times they had colonized the plains of Campania and Lucania, but afterwards these colonies had become estranged from the mother country. The Samnites would have been more than a match for the Romans had they been united in one compact state; but unfortunately their country was divided into a number of independent cantons, which were but loosely connected. They had been in alliance with Rome for some time, and the circumstances which brought them into hostile collision with the Romans are related as follows:—

The Samnites were involved in a war with the Sidicines, who being too weak to defend themselves, applied for aid to the Campanians. The latter, one of the most luxurious and thoughtless people of Italy, readily joined the Sidicines, but were routed in two engagements by the Samnites. The Campanians in their distress applied to Rome for assistance; but the Romans being in alliance with the Samnites, felt some doubts as to the propriety of assisting strangers against their own allies. This scruple, however, was removed by the Campanians offering to become the subjects and acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. Such is the story devised by the Romans to conceal the fact that they violated their alliance with Samnium, for the Campanians do not hereafter appear as the subjects of Rome. When in B. C. 343 the Romans sent succour to the Campanians, the Samnites, viewing the matter in its true light, declared war against Rome. In the first campaign, the Romans, commanded by Valerius Corvus, gained a

great victory on Mount Gaurus; but another army, which was to have invaded Samnium itself, was led by the carelessness of the consul into a position among the mountains, where it would have been destroyed had not Decius Mus contrived to reach an eminence overhanging the enemy, and thus enabled his countrymen to march safely through the mountain-pass. During the second year of the war nothing of importance was achieved, partly on account of the disaffection which manifested itself among the Latins, and partly on account of some disturbances which had arisen at Rome in consequence of the oppressive nature of the law of debt. The Romans therefore thought it prudent to renew their ancient alliance with the Samnites, and concluded peace with them upon fair terms.

12. SUBJUGATION OF LATIUM.—The Latins had long felt discontented with the manner in which the Romans behaved towards their allies, and accordingly rejoiced at the opportunity when the Campanians, abandoned by the Samnites, solicited their assistance. Hostilities against them were commenced by the Romans in B. C. 340. The Latins themselves would willingly have avoided a hostile collision, for their only object was to occupy their proper position as the equal allies of the Romans. With this view they had demanded that Rome and Latium should be united as one state, and that one of the consuls and one-half of the senators should be Latins. But this demand was spurned by the Romans of all classes, and war was declared against the Latins forthwith. The first great battle was fought in Campania, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius: it is celebrated for the self-sacrifice of P. Decius, one of the consuls, who, in order to secure the victory to the Romans, after being consecrated by a priest, rushed among the enemies, fighting like the very spirit of destruction until he himself was killed. His colleague, Manlius Torquatus, exhibited during the same campaign a degree of severity which made him ever after unpopular among his own countrymen. He had given orders that no man should allow himself to be drawn into a fight with the enemy without his special command. His own son Manlius, being taunted and provoked by an insolent Latin, was unable to control his passion, and slew the boaster. Overjoyed at this feat, he brought the spoils of the enemy before his father, who relentlessly ordered the attendants to put his son to death for his disobedience. All his comrades, grieving at the unnatural conduct of the father, honoured their young friend with a splendid burial.

The Campanians with their usual recklessness abandoned

the Latins after their first defeat, and obtained peace from the Romans on favourable terms. The Latins, thus left alone, made the most desperate efforts; but when in the second campaign they suffered another defeat, the confederacy of the Latin towns was broken up, and most of them were compelled to surrender one after another. The Volscians who had been allied with the Latins experienced the same fate, so that in B. C. 338, the subjugation of the Latins and Volscians was completed. The fate of the conquered people was, on the whole, determined with a considerable degree of moderation: some received the full Roman franchise, others the franchise without the suffrage, and others again became Roman *municipia*, that is, they retained their internal administration independent of Rome. But some of the more guilty places were humbled by their most illustrious families being sent into exile, or by their being deprived of portions of their territory, which became domain land of the Roman state. The renewal of the Latin confederacy was moreover rendered impossible by the abolition of the *commercium* and *connubium* among the several towns, that is, the inhabitants of one town were not allowed to acquire property or to contract a lawful marriage in any other town. Rome was now the undisputed mistress of the countries of the Latins and Volscians, and secured her conquests by the establishment of several colonies, which were in reality military garrisons to keep the conquered people in subjection, and generally received one-third of their lands.

While these wars had been going on, some important political measures had been carried at Rome, the object of which was partly to mitigate the rigour of the law of debt, and partly to check the magistrates in the exercise of their powers. Thus the dictator Q. Publilius Philo, in B. C. 339, carried three important laws; the first of which did away with the *veto* of the patrician comitia curiata upon the legislative enactments made by the centuries; the second gave to plebiscita the full force of laws binding on the whole nation; and the third enacted that one of the censors should always be a plebeian.

EXERCISES.

1. What was the new form of government? What was the condition of the plebs? What conspiracy was formed against the new government?

2. What was the cause of the Etruscan war? Narrate the legends of Horatius and Scævola. On what conditions did Rome obtain peace? Give an account of the Latin war. Who was the first dictator?

3. What was the ager publicus? What led to the impoverishment of the plebs? What is a nexus? What led to the secession to the

Sacred Mount? Who mediated between the two parties? What officers were created to protect the plebs?

4. What led to the outlawry of Coriolanus? What is his story? Who proposed the first agrarian law, and what is meant by the term? What was the end of Spurius Cassius?

5. What powerful family monopolized the consulate for seven years? What became of this family?

6. What led to the dictatorship of Cincinnatus? What was he? What were his exploits?

7. What laws were carried by Publilius Volero? Who was the first legal reformer? What plan of law reform was adopted? Who were the decemvirs? How did they use their power? Narrate the story of Virginia with its results.

8. Describe the peculiarities of the laws of the Twelve Tables. When and how was the right of *connubium* obtained? What other privileges were gained by the plebeians? What were the duties of the censors? Relate the history of Spurius Mælius. What was the fate of Veii?

9. Describe the invasion of the Gauls under Brennus. How was the Capitol saved? State the result of the invasion. What became of Manlius Capitolinus?

10. What were the three Licinian laws? Mention the years when the patricians successively gave up their peculiar privileges. Narrate the legends of Manlius Torquatus and Valerius Corvus.

11. Who were the Samnites? What caused the first Samnite war? What general saved the Roman army from destruction?

12. What occasioned the last Latin war? What is told of P. Decius and the son of Torquatus? How were the conquered Latins treated?

CHAPTER III

FROM THE SUBJUGATION OF LATIUM TO THAT OF ALL ITALY, B. C. 338 TO B. C. 272.

Second Samnite War—Wars with the Etruscans, Hernicans, and Æquians—Third Samnite War—War with Pyrrhus.

1. SECOND SAMNITE WAR.—The establishment of Roman colonies or garrisons in Latium, near their own frontiers, seems to have alarmed the Samnites, who were well aware that the Romans had recently concluded peace with them only because they could not help themselves; but it was more particularly the establishment, in B. C. 328, of such a garrison at Fregellæ, a Volscian town which had been conquered by the Samnites, and therefore belonged to them, that led to irritation and ill feeling. War, however, was not formally declared till two years later, when the city of Neapolis, in Campania, being involved

in hostilities with Rome received reinforcements from the Samnites. Soon after this, Neapolis came to terms with Rome; but the Samnites, far from being weakened by this desertion, formed new and powerful alliances with Lucania and the Greek city of Tarentum. In the first year of the war, the Romans advanced as far as Apulia, where they made themselves masters of several towns. The Samnites, after having sustained some serious losses, concluded a truce for one year, at the expiration of which, a detachment of theirs, proceeding to Latium, stirred up some of the Latin towns against Rome. While thus the Roman armies were exposed to great dangers in the distant country of Apulia, the city itself was threatened in its immediate vicinity; but Rome was saved by the revolted Latin towns soon returning to their allegiance and assisting in expelling the Samnites from Latium. Meantime the Roman arms also gained considerable advantages in Apulia, and several Apulian and Samnite towns were conquered. These losses created among the Samnites a desire for peace; but the terms offered by the Romans were of so humiliating a nature that it was impossible to accept them. The Samnites therefore resolved to make every effort to maintain their independence by force of arms. The Apulian town of Luceria, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, was closely besieged in B. C. 321. A Roman army, led by the consuls Veturius and Postumius into Samnium, was, by the imprudence of its commanders, surrounded on all sides by the enemy in a mountain-pass near Caudium (*Furcæ Caudinæ*). The whole army might have been annihilated; but Pontius, the commander of the Samnites, behaving with great moderation towards the vanquished enemy, merely forced them to lay down their arms and pass under the yoke, which was regarded as the greatest humiliation for a defeated army. Pontius now renewed his offers of peace, and the Roman commanders, being in a helpless condition, acceded to the terms, and were permitted to return home. The Roman senate being informed of this peace, not only refused to ratify it, but ordered all those who had taken part in its conclusion to be delivered up in chains to the enemy. The Samnites refused to receive these victims of the senatorial policy: "Cancel the treaty if you like," said Pontius, "but send back your legions to the Forks." The Romans redoubled their efforts to wipe off the disgrace of Caudium, which their traditions have contrived to do by ascribing most brilliant victories to their arms. They boast of having recaptured the 600 hostages, with the weapons and ensigns lost at Caudium, and forced an army of 7000 prisoners with the

noble Pontius at their head to pass half-naked and unarmed beneath the yoke. Still the war continued with varying success; for, while Papirius Cursor gained some important advantages in Apulia, another Roman commander, Fabius Maximus, lost a great battle at Lautulæ, after which many of the Italian towns revolted from Rome. The Samnites, however, were suffering very severely from the war, and in the following campaigns the Romans were so far successful as to reduce the countries of Apulia and Campania, so that they might with confidence look forward to its speedy and glorious termination. But events which took place in other parts of Italy delayed this consummation for a time.

2. Wars with the Etruscans, Hernicans, and Æquians.—The success with which the Roman arms had hitherto been crowned in their wars against the Latins, Volscians, and Samnites, had produced considerable uneasiness and alarm among their northern neighbours; and while the Romans were still engaged in the south, the Etruscans, in B. C. 311, rose in arms against them. The Romans, being thus obliged to divide their forces, were unable to cope with the Samnites, by whom they were thoroughly defeated at Alifæ. In this emergency, Papirius Cursor, who was appointed dictator B. C. 309, hastened to assist the distressed legions in Samnium, where his valour brought about a complete change of affairs. The Samnites suffered a terrible defeat, and their camp fell into the hands of the enemy. Still a hostile feeling against Rome was spreading over a large part of Italy, and a great coalition was formed against the common enemy by the Marsians, Pelignians, Umbrians, Hernicans, and Æquians. But the power of Rome had already become irresistible: the Umbrians were easily reduced to submission, the Hernicans were overpowered without much exertion, and the Etruscans did not display sufficient resolution to carry on a successful war. In short, the coalition, on which the Samnites had mainly relied, was broken up, and the Romans were enabled to direct all their forces against them. In B. C. 306, the Samnites, being routed in all directions by the Roman consuls, concluded a truce for a short period, in the hope of obtaining peace on tolerable terms; but the negotiations led to no results, and in the year following the Romans ravaged Samnium far and wide. The battle of Bovianum at last completely crushed the spirit of the Samnites, who, unable to continue the war, were obliged to accept the terms dictated by the Romans: they had to give up their connexion with Lucania, and to renounce their alliances with the neighbouring nations, while Rome claimed for

herself the right to interfere in all the foreign relations of the Samnite state. This peace was concluded in B. C. 304, and the Samnites acquiesced in it merely because they were too much weakened to continue the war.

The Hernicans had been reduced to submission two years before the conclusion of this peace, and the fate of their towns was, on the whole, like that of the Latin towns. The Æquians, who had all along supported the Samnites, now openly rose in arms against Rome, who being now at peace with the Samnites was able to direct all her forces against this petty nation. They were consequently soon overpowered and most of their towns destroyed. It was about this time that Rome concluded a treaty with Tarentum, in which it was agreed that no Roman ship should sail beyond the Lacinian promontory in the south-west of the bay of Tarentum.

3. Third Samnite War.—After the conclusion of the treaty with the Samnites, the Romans neglected nothing to secure the submission of the countries they had recently conquered. But the period of peace did not last long, as the Samnites were only waiting for a favourable opportunity of recovering what they had lost. They first attempted to regain the supremacy of Lucania, but the Lucanian nobles placing themselves under the protection of the Romans, the Samnites were peremptorily ordered to evacuate the country. The consequence was, that they immediately declared war against Rome, B. C. 298. At the same time the Etruscans again rose in arms, allied themselves with the Umbrians, and even called in the aid of the Gauls. During the first two years the Samnites suffered several serious defeats, and Samnium itself was fearfully ravaged by the enemy. The Samnites also endeavoured to co-operate with and assist the Etruscans; but it was all of no avail, for the Roman arms were victorious everywhere, and the reduction of Lucania and Campania greatly increased the confidence of the Romans in their ultimate success. But a report that the Gauls, instigated and supported by the Etruscans and Umbrians, were marching southwards, created considerable alarm in the city. Incredible efforts were made to meet the formidable enemy, and in B. C. 295 the consuls Q. Fabius and P. Decius proceeded to the north. The slaughter of an entire legion near Camerinum opened the passes of the Apennines to the Gauls, and if they had succeeded in forming a junction with the Umbrians and Etruscans, the destruction of the consular army would have been certain. But Fabius by a skilful diversion having compelled the Etruscans to march to the defence of their

own country, hastened to confront the allied force of Gauls and Samnites. They met near Sentinum: 7000 Romans on the left wing, commanded by Decius, had already fallen, when the consul sacrificed himself for his country, as his father had done before him. But the Gauls were insensible to the superstitious fears which had terrified the Latin army, and the left wing would have been utterly destroyed if Fabius, who had routed the Samnites, had not come to its aid. The barbarians although surrounded retired without disorder, and reached their own country in diminished numbers, but with a bold front to the enemy. Meanwhile another Samnite army was ravaging Campania, but was defeated by the Romans returning from Sentinum. The Etruscan towns concluded peace with Rome one after another. The people of Samnium, making a last and desperate effort, enrolled every man capable of bearing arms, and again invaded Campania. But the Romans obliged them to return by an attack upon Samnium, in which they were successful. No sooner, however, had they withdrawn from the country, than the Samnites again entered Campania under the command of their great general Pontius. The Romans at their first meeting the enemy were routed; and their whole army might have been annihilated, had it not been for the excessive caution of the Samnites. In B. C. 292 the aged Q. Fabius Maximus undertook the command of the Romans, and fought a pitched battle which decided the contest between Rome and Samnium, although the submission of the vanquished was still delayed for two years. Many thousand Samnites were killed or taken prisoners. One among the latter was the brave general Pontius, who was led to Rome in chains and beheaded—a disgraceful reward for the merciful manner in which he had treated the Romans at Caudium. In B. C. 290 a formal peace was concluded, in which Samnium was obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. The same terms were soon after imposed upon the Etruscans, Umbrians, and the Celtic tribes of the Senones and Boii, and numerous colonies were established in those countries to secure their submission. The Etruscans, now entirely under the dominion of Rome, seem to have enjoyed a higher degree of material prosperity than at any previous period.

In regard to the internal affairs of Rome, it needs only be remarked here, that during the period of the second and third Samnite wars the two orders in the state were placed upon a complete footing of equality. Many useful works also were executed during the same period: thus, in B. C. 312,

the famous Appian road, leading from Rome to Capua, and afterwards continued to Brundusium, was constructed by the censor Appius Claudius, who also made the first aqueduct and supplied the city with water from a distance. In the same year a calendar was set up in public, in which the *dies fasti* and *nefasti* were marked, in order that the people might know on what days it was lawful to transact legal and political business.

Rome now entered upon what may be termed her golden age: she was internally strong and united, and the differences between patricians and plebeians gradually began to be forgotten. At the same time, however, there existed causes which must have been alarming to a far-sighted statesman; for the long wars carried on at a distance from Rome often withdrew the proprietors of small farms too long from those pursuits upon which their existence and that of their families depended. The Romans had the remedy for this in their own hands in the distribution of the public land, the amount of which had lately been immensely increased. But such a distribution was very rarely resorted to.

4. War with Pyrrhus.—Tarentum, a powerful mercantile and manufacturing city, founded by Spartans, in the south of Italy, could not but contemplate with apprehension the extension of the power of the Romans. Like most wealthy commercial communities, it felt extremely reluctant to engage in war, and exerted all its influence to excite other Italian nations to form a coalition against the common enemy. This scheme promised at first to be successful, but it was soon found that there was not sufficient spirit and determination among the Italians to engage in a crusade against Rome. We have already seen that the Romans were prevented by a treaty with Tarentum from sailing beyond the promontory of Lacinium; but as they now had to extend protection to the town of Thurii, which was allied with them, and was besieged by the Lucanians, they were constrained by duty towards their ally to violate that treaty. When the Roman ships were seen steering towards the harbour of Tarentum, the people immediately sailed out and attacked them. One-half of the Roman squadron was destroyed, and Thurii was compelled to throw open its gates to the conquerors. The Romans, though indignant at these proceedings, were nevertheless not inclined at once to engage in a fresh war. Roman ambassadors accordingly were sent to demand the surrender of the guilty persons. The Tarentines not only refused to do so, but insulted the ambassadors in the most flagrant manner.

War was thus unavoidable; and as the hope of a general coalition among the Italians against Rome could not be realized, the Tarentines invited Pyrrhus, the adventurous and chivalrous king of Epirus, to come to their assistance.

The Epirot king gladly seized the opportunity, in the hope of winning for himself a powerful kingdom in the west, as his kinsman Alexander the Great had done in the east. He arrived in Italy in B. C. 281, and having assumed the supreme command at Tarentum, subjected its inhabitants to the most rigorous military discipline. He closed the baths and theatres, forced the citizens to bear arms, and exercised them with his own troops. The only other allies of the Tarentines were the Samnites and Messapians. In the following year, the Romans met the hostile army on the banks of the Siris in Lucania, when Pyrrhus, partly by his Macedonian phalanx, and partly by the terror inspired by his elephants, which animals had until then never been seen in Italy, gained a signal victory. The result was that several of the people and towns in Southern Italy at once joined the conqueror. The victory, however, had been dearly purchased, for the Romans had fought with their accustomed bravery; and Pyrrhus, having himself also sustained great losses, sent an ambassador to Rome to sue for peace. But the senate refused to listen to any such proposals, unless the king would consent to quit Italy. Upon being informed of this, Pyrrhus straightway marched against Rome, but soon returned to Tarentum, on finding that there was no hope of a rising in the north. In B. C. 279 Pyrrhus gained another hard-won victory near the town of Asculum in Apulia, which extorted from him the remark, "One more such victory and I shall be undone!"

After this second defeat the Roman senate felt more inclined to come to terms with Pyrrhus, but the desire was obstinately opposed by Appius Claudius the Blind. A truce, however, seems to have been concluded, which enabled Pyrrhus to proceed with his army to Sicily, whither he had been invited by the Greek cities, which, with his assistance, hoped to drive the Carthaginians from the island. The king took this step, partly because he had discovered that no reliance could be placed upon the fickle Greeks of Southern Italy, while in the Romans he had found an enemy worthy of all admiration, and partly because he thought he might easily make himself master of the island. Soon after his arrival in Sicily, however, he discovered that matters there were even worse than in Italy. If the Sicilian Greeks had obeyed his orders and acted with prudence, they might have succeeded in

driving the Carthaginians from the island; but as it was, he found himself thwarted in all his undertakings, and after a useless stay of three years, he gladly returned to Italy, where his allies had during his absence been hard pressed by the Romans. Pyrrhus soon recovered some of the places which had fallen into the hands of the enemy. He found the consul M'. Curius Dentatus encamped in the neighbourhood of Beneventum, and offered him battle B. C. 275. His army, which was now chiefly composed of unwarlike and effeminate Greeks, who supplied the place of the hardy Macedonians with whom he had come across, was so completely defeated, that the king himself with only a few horsemen escaped to Tarentum. Finding that the Romans were successful in other parts of Italy also, and that it was impossible to obtain reinforcements from home, he resolved to quit Italy and return to Epirus, leaving only small garrisons at Tarentum and Rhegium. Soon after his departure, the Tarentines concluded peace with the Romans, who, before the end of the year B. C. 272, completed the subjugation of Southern Italy, by compelling the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Sarsinatians to acknowledge their supremacy: Rhegium alone held out until the year following. All parts of Italy, from the northern frontiers of Umbria and Etruria down to the Straits of Sicily, were now united under the government of the eternal city; and all seem to have acquiesced in their fate, with the exception of one nation, the Samnites, who were still unable to resign themselves to their lot, and in B. C. 268 commenced their fourth war against Rome; but their attempt was crushed in the very first campaign. All the nations of Italy had now lost their political independence, though in some respects they were not all treated alike, and Rome formed a compact state of the first magnitude. The maritime cities of the south enabled the Romans, in case of need, to raise a fleet against any transmarine enemy with whom Rome might come into collision.

EXERCISES.

1. What led to the second Samnite war? What were the Caudine Forks? How did the senate receive the treaty? What did Pontius reply?

2. What Italian states armed against Rome? Who was named dictator in the second Samnite war? What was the decisive battle? What remarkable treaty did the Romans make?

3. State the cause of the third Samnite war. What dangers threatened Rome? By whom were they met, and how? What was the result of the war? What public works were executed about this time? What was the internal condition of Rome? What evil threatened the direction of the state?

4. Who founded Tarentum? What occasioned its first war with Rome? Who was the Tarentine general? To what were his early victories owing? What did Pyrrhus say after his victory at Asculum? What other war did Pyrrhus wage, and with what result? What Roman was sent against him? How did the war end?

CHAPTER IV.

From the First Punic War to the Outbreak of the Second, B. C. 264 to B. C. 218.

Causes of the First Punic War—Success of the Romans in Sicily and at Sea—M. Atilius Regulus—Carthage confined to the Western Corner of Sicily—Results of the First Punic War—Wars against the Ligurians, Illyrians, and Gauls—The Carthaginians in Spain.

1. Causes of the First Punic War.—Carthage was the most powerful among the many commercial cities planted by the Phœnicians on the north coast of Africa. Its commercial enterprises had brought it in contact with Rome at a very early period, and in the very first year of the Roman republic, B. C. 509, the two states had concluded a commercial treaty, which was renewed and modified at two subsequent periods. During the war with Pyrrhus, Carthage had even offered to assist Rome with her fleet, but the offer was not accepted, probably because Rome looked with some degree of mistrust upon Carthage. The Carthaginians had from early times been desirous to gain possession of the island of Sicily, and had actually succeeded in establishing themselves in the western parts, from which the Greek colonies were continually endeavouring to expel them. In the time of Agathocles, a body of Campanian mercenaries, called Mamertines, were engaged by him to assist in the wars against Carthage. After his death they took forcible possession of the town of Messana, B. C. 281, murdered or expelled the male population, and distributed all the property as well as the women and children among themselves. It was against these Mamertines as well as against the Carthaginians that Pyrrhus had been invited. After his departure the island was ravaged in all directions by the savage hordes of the Mamertines, who secured their spoil and plunder behind the lofty walls of Messana. Hiero, king of Syracuse, marched against them with a large army, and after having defeated them in a pitched battle, laid siege to their stronghold. In these difficulties the Mamertines resolved to seek the aid of some foreign power, but were not agreed among themselves

to whom they should apply. The majority were in favour of Rome, while others preferred Carthage, which had proffered its assistance, and whose troops indeed took possession of the citadel.

Scarcely six years had elapsed since Rome had inflicted the severest punishment upon a body of Campanian mercenaries, who had acted at Rhegium in the same way as the Mamertines at Messana. The Romans therefore felt that it was scarcely consistent to comply with the request of the Mamertines; but the assembly of the people, to which the matter was referred by the senate, was influenced by different feelings, and either from a love of war or from hostility towards the Carthaginians, resolved upon entering into an alliance with the Mamertines, B. C. 264. Hiero had in the meantime made peace with them, so that the Romans had no longer any reasonable pretext for interfering between the parties. But they were bent upon war: the maritime towns of Southern Italy were called upon to furnish a fleet, an army was assembled at Rhegium, and a proclamation was sent to Messana, announcing that the Romans were ready to deliver the town from the hands of the Carthaginians. After the arrival of the Roman fleet in Sicily, the Carthaginian general was treacherously induced to surrender Messana to the Romans. But a fresh Carthaginian army, in conjunction with Hiero, now laid siege to that city; and in the first battle which ensued, Hiero was defeated by the consul Appius Claudius, before the Carthaginians could come to his assistance. The latter, who were equally unsuccessful, dispersed among their subject towns in the island, and in the year following Hiero concluded a peace and alliance with Rome, which he most faithfully observed to the end of his life, a period of fifty years.

2. Success of the Romans in Sicily and at Sea.—At first the success of the Romans was very great. The Carthaginians did not meet their enemies in the field, and many of the Sicilian towns surrendered to the Romans without a blow. The conquest of Sicily seemed only a matter of time. The city of Agrigentum was occupied by a numerous Carthaginian garrison, which was besieged by the Romans, in B. C. 262, for a period of seven months. When at length the place was taken, the garrison escaped, but the inhabitants suffered all the horrors of a town taken by the sword. The main strength of the Carthaginians lay in their fleet, and hitherto no power had been able to cope with them at sea; but the Romans now determined to confront them on their own element. A fleet

accordingly was built, on the model of a Carthaginian vessel which had been wrecked on the coast of Bruttium, and C. Duilius, in B. C. 260, undertook its command. As the Romans were no match for the Carthaginians as sailors, they contrived, in the first engagement off Mylæ, to change the sea-fight into a land-battle by means of boarding-bridges, and their victory was so complete that the enemy, after a most disastrous loss, were obliged to take to flight. This victory, the first which the Romans gained at sea, was commemorated at Rome by the erection of a column adorned with the beaks of the captured ships (*columna rostrata*), and with an inscription recording the particulars of the victory. Such an unexpected result emboldened the Romans so much, that they determined upon the expulsion of the Carthaginians not only from Sicily, but from the other islands of the Mediterranean, such as Sardinia and Corsica. Expeditions accordingly were sent to these latter islands, in consequence of which the operations in Sicily were carried on with less vigour than before, and the Carthaginians recovered some of the places they had lost. But in B. C. 258, the consul Atilius Calatinus restored the Roman ascendency by the capture of several towns, while others surrendered to him of their own accord.

3. M. Atilius Regulus.—Still, however, nearly one-half of Sicily was in the hands of the Carthaginians, and in B. C. 256, the Romans, with immense exertions, built a fleet of 350 vessels, which was intended to make a diversion and attack Carthage itself, under the command of the two Roman consuls, L. Manlius and M. Atilius Regulus. On its passage, off Ecnomus, it was met by a still larger Carthaginian armament; but the Romans were again completely victorious, and their commanders, rejecting all proposals of peace, sailed towards Africa. They landed at Clupea, where they established their head-quarters, and from which they ravaged the country far and wide. About the close of the year, Manlius, with a portion of the army and a great many captives, returned to Italy; but Regulus nevertheless renewed hostilities, and succeeded in reducing a large number of towns. The success of the enemy so much weakened the Carthaginians, as to oblige them to seek protection within their own city, and offer to conclude peace. But the haughty and insolent Regulus offered terms which the Carthaginians could not accept without almost annihilating their political existence, and they accordingly resolved to perish sword in hand rather than submit to so exacting an enemy. They had, however, no able general, and in their distress they appointed the brave Xanthippus, a

Spartan who happened to be living at Carthage, to the supreme command. He at once reorganized the whole army, and did everything to restore discipline and courage among the soldiers. When his preparations were completed, he boldly marched out to meet his foe in the field, and in the ensuing battle the whole Roman army was routed and put to flight; Regulus himself, with 500 men, was taken prisoner, and only a few made their escape to Clupea. The two consuls of the year sailed to Africa with another large fleet, and being attacked by the Carthaginians near Cape Hermæum, it forced the assailants to disperse, and pursued its course to Clupea, where it succeeded in rescuing the soldiers of Regulus who had taken refuge there. But the same fleet on its return was almost entirely destroyed by a storm on the south coast of Sicily, and the Carthaginians, emboldened by their recent success and the disaster of their enemies, increased their exertions to recover their losses in that island. The Romans, undismayed by the destruction of their fleet, fitted out a new armament, which in B. C. 254 they despatched to Sicily, where several towns surrendered to them; but as their progress was too slow for their desires, they resolved once more to sail to Africa. Here they laid waste all the coast districts they could reach; but the dangers of the quicksands (*Syrtes*) soon obliged them to return, and when they came in sight of Sicily, a storm arose which sank more than half their vessels. This fresh disaster produced such despondency among the Romans that they resolved not to restore the fleet, and to keep no more ships than were necessary to protect the coasts of Italy, and to convey troops to Sicily.

4. Carthage confined to the Western Corner of Sicily.—But notwithstanding this diminution of their forces, the Romans continued to make progress in Sicily. They confined the Carthaginians to the western corner of the island, and in B. C. 250 defeated them in the last important battle that was fought during the war. After this the possessions of Carthage in Sicily were limited to the two fortresses Lilybæum and Drepana, and she was now anxious to obtain either peace or at least an exchange of prisoners. To effect this, Regulus, who was still in captivity, is said to have been sent as ambassador to Rome. He refused to enter its walls, saying that he was no longer a citizen; and when he spoke of his embassy, he urged the senate to listen to no proposals, but to continue the war. They begged him to take pity on himself. "My days are numbered," he said; and, rejecting the caresses of his wife and children, he returned to Car-

thage, where he is said by Roman historians to have met with a cruel death. The senate adopted his advice: another fleet of two hundred vessels was built, and the Romans laid siege to the fortified city of Lilybæum. The attempts upon this place were continued for a long time, but without success, and when in B. C. 249 Appius Claudius arrived with reinforcements, he suffered a terrible defeat both by land and by sea in the neighbourhood of Drepana. This was not the only misfortune which befell the Romans at that time, for soon after a large number of transports were wrecked during a storm, and their remaining ships of war were captured or sunk by the enemy. These disasters once more determined the Romans to abandon the sea to the Carthaginians, who, however, were themselves too much exhausted to continue the contest with any vigour. Under these circumstances, Hamilcar, the greatest general of the Carthaginians during the whole war, undertook the command of their forces in Sicily, B. C. 247. He at first made some descents upon the coast of Italy, and afterwards established himself successively on Mounts Hercte and Eryx, where he watched the course of events, and harassed the Romans by frequent sallies.

In this manner the war was protracted, without any great success being gained by either party. At last, however, the Romans determined to make one more grand effort, and in B. C. 242, money was raised to build a fleet of 200 ships of war, which was placed under the command of C. Lutatius Catulus. His plan was to attack Drepanum, but being unsuccessful there, he gave battle to the Carthaginian fleet, over which he gained, in B. C. 241, an easy but complete victory near a group of islands called the Ægates. This defeat broke the strength of the Carthaginians. They sued for peace, and obtained it on condition of their evacuating Sicily and the smaller islands between it and Africa, of their abstaining from war against Hiero, restoring all Roman prisoners without ransom, and paying 3200 talents in ten yearly instalments.

5. Results of the First Punic War.—The war which was now brought to a close had lasted twenty-three years, and had been carried on with incredible efforts on both sides. Rome had now become the mistress of Sicily, her first conquest out of Italy, which could not be dealt with in the same manner as the several parts of the peninsula had been treated after their subjugation. Sicily was made a Roman province (*provincia*), that is, a country governed by a Roman proconsul or prætor, who conducted its administration for one year, and was invested with full civil and military power. Reve-

nues, such as tithes of all the produce of the country and the rent of the domain land, was all the Roman state derived from a province, for its inhabitants were not allowed to serve in the Roman legions, that honour being reserved only for the Romans and their allies. The taxes were not collected by officials appointed by the state, but by wealthy capitalists or companies of capitalists, who farmed the public revenues of the republic, and were called *publicani*. The relation in which the towns of a province stood to Rome depended upon the spirit with which they had opposed their conquerors, and in this instance the kingdom of Hiero and several other towns of Sicily remained perfectly free.

The reduced state of Carthage rendered her unable, after the return of her forces from Sicily, to pay her mercenaries, who immediately rose in arms against their employers, and were joined by Roman deserters from fear of being delivered up. This war was carried on more than three years, and with almost savage cruelty on both sides. During its progress the Romans displayed much generosity towards their former enemies by protecting their transports and refusing all aid to the rebels. Hostilities were brought to a close in B. C. 238, by the great Hamilcar. In the same year, the Romans, in direct opposition to the manner in which they had hitherto acted, took under their protection the revolted Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia, and availed themselves of the opportunity of seizing both Sardinia and Corsica. The government of Carthage naturally complained of this act of aggression in time of peace, but Rome treated the city as if it were the offender, and demanded an additional sum of twelve hundred talents. The Carthaginians, being too exhausted to offer resistance, were obliged to yield for the present; but their great leader Hamilcar lost no time in devising means to enable his countrymen at some future opportunity to punish the Romans. The inhabitants of Sardinia were not so willing to change masters, and it was not until eight years afterwards that this island was thoroughly subdued.

6. WARS AGAINST THE LIGURIANS, ILLYRIANS, AND GAULS.—The possession of Sardinia and Corsica had to be secured by the Romans by a long and tedious war with the natives. Equally tedious wars were going on at the same time against the Ligurians and Boians. Illyricum, on the east of the Adriatic, was at that time governed by Queen Teuta, who allowed her subjects, by their piracy, to annoy the merchant vessels in the Adriatic and the maritime cities of Greece. The Romans, after vainly remonstrating with her, declared

war in B. C. 229, and had not much difficulty in bringing the barbarians to their senses. Several Greek cities, such as Corcyra, Epidamnus, and Apollonia, which had formerly been plundered by the Illyrians, now placed themselves under the protection of Rome, who thus acquired a footing on the eastern coast of the Adriatic; and the beneficial influence she exercised in protecting the Greeks induced even such cities as Athens and Corinth to confer honours and distinctions upon the Romans.

In the same year in which the war against the Illyrians broke out, C. Flaminius had carried an agrarian law, by which certain lands belonging to the Gauls had been taken from them and assigned to Roman citizens. At this the barbarians were deeply exasperated, and strengthened themselves by forming alliances with other Gauls on both sides of the Alps. A storm was thus gathering which once more brought the existence of the Roman state into imminent danger. In B. C. 226, countless hosts of Gauls descended from the Alps and moved southwards as far as Clusium in Etruria, devastating everything on their road with fire and sword. The Romans were seized with the greatest alarm; but feeling that the safety of Italy depended upon their prompt and vigorous action, they sent out an army to meet the invaders. After a severe reverse in the first engagement, in which the Roman army was nearly surrounded and annihilated by the barbarians, a decisive victory was gained over them in Etruria, where no fewer than 40,000 Gauls were killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners. This great battle was fought in B. C. 225, and in the year following the Romans for the first time crossed the river Po. The Boians and Insubrians, two Gallic tribes, were reduced to submission, but the war against the Gauls was not brought to a close until B. C. 222, in the battle of Clastidium, where Claudius Marcellus slew the commander of the Gauls with his own hand. After this battle, peace was concluded with the barbarians, who were obliged to recognise the supremacy of Rome. The new conquests, consisting of the fertile plains of Gallia Cisalpina, were secured by the establishment of two colonies, Cremona and Placentia.

In the meantime, the Illyrians, led by a chief of the name of Demetrius, had renewed their piratical practices, but were effectually checked in B. C. 219, by the consul L. Æmilius Paullus, who subdued the whole of Illyricum. Demetrius escaped to Macedonia, and seems to have roused king Philip's attention to the progress made by the Romans on the east coast of the Adriatic.

7. The Carthaginians in Spain.—While Rome was thus

actively employed, the Carthaginians, guided by the wise councils of Hamilcar, were establishing a new empire in Spain, where, by moderation and kind treatment, they succeeded in attaching the natives to themselves. Hamilcar himself was killed in battle in B. C. 229; but Hasdrubal, his successor and son-in-law, pursued the same policy as his predecessor, and founded the town of Nova Carthago, or New Carthage, on the south coast of Spain. The Romans, perceiving the rapid progress made by the Carthaginians, concluded a treaty with Hasdrubal, stipulating that he should not carry his conquests beyond the river Iberus. Hasdrubal was assassinated in B. C. 221, and was succeeded by Hannibal, the son of the great Hamilcar, who had accompanied his father into Spain when he was a boy only nine years old, and had been trained in all the hardships of war under the most illustrious general of the time.

Immediately after his accession to power, he extended his conquests as far as the river Iberus. The town of Saguntum, however, which is said to have been allied with Rome, was as yet left untouched. But Hannibal, availing himself of a dispute between the inhabitants and a neighbouring tribe, laid siege to it in B. C. 219. In vain did the Roman ambassadors call on him to spare the place: they were referred to the senate at Carthage, where they met with no better success; for although Hanno and the aristocratic party would have done anything to avoid a war with Rome, the friends of Hannibal and the great body of the people refused to check their young general in his victorious career. Q. Fabius, the spokesman of the embassy, at length, after much discussion, brought the Carthaginians to the point, and war was declared. Meanwhile the siege of Saguntum was continued, and its inhabitants defended themselves with the greatest valour. At the end of eight months the city was taken and destroyed by fire; the few survivors were put to the sword. This catastrophe of Saguntum was only a prelude to the second Punic war, or, as it is more properly called, the Hannibalian war.

EXERCISES.

1. By whom was Carthage founded? When was its first treaty made with Rome? What dispute led to the first Punic war? Who was the first consul sent into Sicily?

2. What happened at Agrigentum? Where lay the chief strength of Carthage? What was the origin of the Roman navy? Describe the first naval battle between Rome and Carthage. What was the result of the first Sicilian campaign?

3. What Roman leaders carried the war into Africa, and with what

result? What foreign general commanded the Carthaginian troops? What were the chief events of the African campaign?

4. What story is told of Regulus? How did the Romans continue the war? Where was Appius defeated? What other disasters befell Rome? What battle destroyed the Carthaginian power in Sicily? What were the terms of the peace which concluded the first Punic war?

5. How long did the first Punic war last? What were the gains of Rome? How was Sicily governed? What happened to Carthage? How long did the mercenary war last? Who ended it? What islands did Rome seize? How were the Carthaginian remonstrances answered?

6. In what new wars did Rome engage? By whom was Illyricum governed? What cities did Rome acquire in the east of the Adriatic? What occasioned a Gallic war? Give the particulars of the Gallic invasion. How did it terminate? What territory did Rome acquire? Give an account of the Illyrian war.

7. Describe the proceedings of Hamilcar in Spain. What city did his successor found? How was Hannibal trained to arms? Under what plea did he attack Saguntum? Describe the siege. What name is given to this war?

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR TO THE FINAL CONQUEST OF MACEDONIA, B. C. 218 TO B. C. 148.

Great Success of Hannibal—Rome's gradual Recovery—Termination of the War—The First and Second Macedonian Wars—War against Antiochus the Great—Wars in the West, and final Subjugation of Macedonia.

1. GREAT SUCCESS OF HANNIBAL.—When the war was declared, Hannibal assembled his forces at New Carthage, and leaving the command in Spain to his brother Hasdrubal, he himself without delay set out on his ever memorable expedition towards Italy. In the summer of B. C. 218, he crossed the Iberus with an army of 90,000 foot, 1200 horse, and 37 elephants; but before reaching the Pyrenees, he allowed all those to remain behind who did not feel disposed to endure the hardships of his gigantic enterprise. He met with no opposition from the natives during his passage until he came to the banks of the Rhone, where vast numbers of Gauls had assembled to stop his further progress. But their attempts were baffled, and he now began to ascend the Alps by the Little St Bernard. After undergoing indescribable difficulties from the nature of the roads, over which no army had ever passed before, he succeeded in reaching the valley of Aosta, on the southern side of the Alps. During this formidable march, however, his forces were so much reduced that there remained

only 20,000 foot and 6000 horse; but these, although worn out by the fatigues of the march, were all men devoted to their leader, and determined to shed their blood in the cause he had undertaken. The Gauls in Northern Italy, who had but recently been subjugated by the Romans, were overjoyed at his arrival, implored his protection against their oppressors, and joined his ranks in great numbers.

At the time when Hannibal set out on his march from New Carthage, the Romans were still engaged in their war against the Ligurians, and owing to this, as well as to their belief that he was venturing upon an enterprise ruinous both to himself and his army, they did not display the promptness and energy which they usually showed on such emergencies. P. Cornelius Scipio, however, was sent with an army and fleet to Gaul, while his colleague, Sempronius Longus, was despatched with another to Sicily. But Scipio arrived in Gaul too late to prevent Hannibal's crossing the Rhone, and the latter had already descended from the Alps before Scipio appeared in the plains of the Po. In two successive battles, fought on the banks of the Ticinus and Trebia, the Roman army was defeated, and Scipio himself was saved only through the daring courage of his son. Hannibal wintered in Lombardy, and in the spring of B. C. 217, crossed the Apennines and marched into Etruria. On the banks of Lake Trasimenus he was met by a Roman army under the command of C. Flaminius, who had hastened thither to protect the road to Rome. A fearful battle was fought there on a foggy morning, in which no fewer than 15,000 Romans perished. Flaminius himself was one of them, and the rest escaped to an Etruscan village. Hannibal treated the Italians with great kindness, hoping thereby to induce them to desert the cause of Rome; but the numerous Roman and Latin colonies or garrisons established in various parts of the country, remained faithful; and one of them, Spoletium, against which the victorious conqueror advanced after the battle of Lake Trasimenus, offered such a determined resistance that he raised the siege and proceeded along the eastern coast into Apulia, in the hope of stirring up the inhabitants of Southern Italy. The news of the defeat at Lake Trasimenus threw Rome into the greatest consternation, and as it was expected that Hannibal would march straightway upon the city, Q. Fabius Maximus, surnamed Cunctator, was appointed dictator; but when it was learnt that the Carthaginian had taken a different road, Fabius cautiously followed him, and without allowing himself to be drawn into a battle, contrived to injure his

enemy as much as possible. On one occasion Hannibal found himself in a most dangerous position in the neighbourhood of Casilinum, and extricated himself only by the following stratagem. He caused bundles of brushwood to be tied to the horns of 2000 oxen, and setting them on fire, drove the animals in the darkness of night towards the Roman camp. The Romans, terrified by the appearance, withdrew from their favourable position, and thus enabled the enemy to escape. The caution and apparent inactivity of Fabius, however, began to excite displeasure at Rome, where C. Terentius Varro, a man of a very opposite character, and L. Æmilius Paullus, were appointed consuls for the year B. C. 216, and ordered to take the field against Hannibal. They marched into Apulia with a numerous army, and pitched their camp in a plain near the town of Cannæ. A great battle was fought there, in which 47,000 Romans, including Æmilius Paullus and eighty senators, were slain. Varro, the other consul, escaped with only a few horsemen to Venusia. The day of this terrible defeat was ever after marked in the Roman calendar as disastrous, like that on which the Gauls had gained their victory on the Allia.

2. ROME'S GRADUAL RECOVERY.—Hannibal, though hitherto successful in all his battles, had been disappointed in his expectations of a rising among the Italians; but the glorious victory of Cannæ now brought about a change. A number of Italians openly joined him, and among others the city of Capua, next to Rome the greatest and wealthiest in Italy. In this city Hannibal took up his winter quarters, and his stay there was the turning-point in his fortunes; for although he was joined by many of the Italian cities, and had received reinforcements from Africa, he was unable after this to gain any great and decisive advantage.

The battle of Cannæ had indeed humbled the Romans, but not broken their spirit: they now made incredible efforts to recover what was lost. In the year B. C. 215, M. Claudius Marcellus, who was encamped near Nola in Campania, successfully repelled an attack of Hannibal, and Sempronius Gracchus gained another great advantage near Beneventum. Hannibal, who had in the meantime quitted Capua, was moving about in Apulia and Lucania, while Capua was besieged by the Romans. At length he returned to relieve the place; but as the Romans refused to engage in a battle, he straightway marched towards Rome, and pitched his camp near its very gates. A body of troops from Capua was recalled, and a battle was offered to him; but being unwilling to fight at such

a disadvantage, he quitted his position, and leaving Capua to its fate, proceeded to Rhegium.

In the year after the battle of Cannæ, Hiero, king of Syracuse, who had now for many years been the faithful ally of Rome, died, and his successors allied themselves with Hannibal. In consequence of this, M. Claudius Marcellus, who was sent to Sicily with an army in B. C. 214, laid siege to Syracuse, then the largest and most powerful city in the island. The Syracusans defended themselves bravely, and were assisted by the mechanical and mathematical skill of their townsman Archimedes. But after a siege of two years, the city fell into the hands of the Romans, who destroyed its greatness and splendour, and treated its inhabitants with barbarous cruelty. The Carthaginian general endeavoured to indemnify himself for the loss of his Sicilian allies by making himself master of Tarentum and some other towns; but it was of no avail: the good fortune of Rome was in the ascendant, and in B. C. 212, Capua, after a protracted siege, fell into the hands of the Romans, who treated its inhabitants with inhuman cruelty. Two years later Tarentum also was recovered by Fabius Maximus. These successful achievements of the Romans, and the manner in which they treated the vanquished, struck such terror into the inhabitants of Southern Italy, that they abandoned the cause of Hannibal, who now set all his hopes upon the succour he expected from his brother Hasdrubal.

The latter had been opposed in Spain ever since the beginning of the war by the two brothers Cn. and P. Scipio, who for a number of years harassed the Carthaginians and checked their progress. They not only defeated Hasdrubal in several battles, but formed an alliance with Syphax, an African chief, who attacked Carthage within her own dominions. The death of the two Scipios, who fell in battle within thirty days of each other, and the almost total annihilation of their armies, retarded for a time the progress of the Romans. Hasdrubal, now freed from his formidable opponents, made preparations to march with reinforcements for his brother into Italy. At Rome the fall of the Scipios produced such an effect, that no one was bold enough to go to Spain as their successor, until P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of one of the two brothers, though only twenty-four years old, offered to take the command. This young man, scarcely inferior to Hannibal himself in military skill and prowess, proceeded to Spain, and is said in the very year of his arrival to have made himself master of New Carthage, B. C. 211. But

he was not only great as a military commander: his policy and kindness towards the Spaniards secured to him their attachment, and in a short time his influence in Spain was far greater than that of Hasdrubal. The latter, notwithstanding a signal defeat he had sustained in B. C. 209, near the town of Baecula, ventured to carry out his scheme of uniting his forces with those of his brother in Italy. He accordingly crossed the Alps, and was proceeding through the eastern parts of Italy towards Apulia, when he was attacked by C. Claudius Nero while attempting to pass the river Metaurus in Umbria. Hasdrubal himself was killed, and his whole army was cut to pieces before his brother was aware of his presence in Italy. Hannibal in fact knew nothing of the whole affair, until a Roman who had cut off Hasdrubal's head, flung it into his camp.

The great Carthaginian seems to have now become aware that he should never be able to make himself master of Italy, and accordingly confined himself to a defensive attitude in Bruttium, where he remained during several years in his isolated condition, without assistance from home and without allies in the country. The whole of Spain fell into the hands of the Romans soon after the departure of Hasdrubal, and Scipio not only drove all the Carthaginians out of the peninsula, but spent several years afterwards in punishing the rebellious tribes, and in organizing the administration of the country. When these tasks were accomplished, he returned to Rome, where the glory of his achievements, notwithstanding his youth, procured him the consulship for the year, B. C. 205. At the same time he obtained Sicily as his province, with permission to transfer the war to Africa, if he should think it advantageous. The senate, partly from excessive caution and partly from a jealousy of the extraordinary young man, placed but scanty means at his disposal; but the enthusiasm of all the Italians was so great, that in a short time he was amply provided, by their voluntary contributions, with everything he needed.

3. Termination of the War.—Scipio established himself for a time at Syracuse to make the necessary preparations for his African campaign, for he had become convinced that the war could be terminated only by a successful attack upon Carthage itself. He crossed over into Africa in B. C. 204, and with the assistance of the Numidian king Masinissa captured the treacherous Syphax, who had joined the Carthaginians. The people of Carthage, still entertaining the most extravagant notions of their once victorious general, summoned

Hannibal to return to Africa without delay. He obeyed the call of his country, but left Italy with a heavy heart, B. C. 202, for he felt convinced that the fate of Carthage was sealed. Soon after his arrival he had an interview with the great Scipio, and both commanders were willing to come to terms; but the people of Carthage, too confident in the good fortune of their general, resolved once more to stake their all upon a contest in arms. The battle of Zama, B. C. 202, at last decided the struggle between the two nations. The Carthaginians, though fighting with unprecedented courage, lost the greater part of their army; and Hannibal himself, who escaped to Carthage, advised his countrymen to submit to the stern necessity, and accept whatever terms Scipio might impose upon them. Peace therefore was concluded on the following terms: Carthage was to surrender all Roman deserters and prisoners without ransom; to give up all its ships, with the exception of ten; to abstain from war with any foreign nation without the permission of the Roman senate; to indemnify Masinissa for any losses he had sustained; and, lastly, to pay a sum of ten thousand talents within the next fifty years. The peace was ratified at Rome in B. C. 201, and Scipio, returning home in triumph, received the honourable surname of Africanus. Rome, notwithstanding the terrible losses she had sustained, and the devastations to which Italy had been exposed during the protracted war, was now more powerful than ever. She had conquered Spain and the kingdom of Hiero, and Carthage and Numidia were virtually dependant on her. She was now obliged to keep a fleet to secure her foreign possessions; her name was renowned from one end of the Mediterranean to the other; and foreign states and princes were eager to court her friendship and alliance.

4. The First and Second Macedonian Wars.—After the battle of Cannæ, when the downfal of Rome seemed to be near at hand, King Philip of Macedonia, who had been urged on by the Illyrian Demetrius, concluded a treaty with Hannibal, in which it was stipulated that, after the conquest of Rome, Carthage should rule over all the countries west of the Adriatic, and that those on the east of it should be left to Philip. The document containing this treaty was intercepted by the Romans, who, being thus made acquainted with the whole scheme, adopted measures to prevent the co-operation of the two confederates. But as Philip did not intend to take an active part in the contest that was going on in Italy, and the Romans were prevented by the same contest from sending any considerable force across the Adriatic, a sluggish and

petty war was carried on for a period of ten years between Rome and Macedonia, from B. C. 215 to B. C. 205. Peace was then concluded, though neither party had any honest intention of keeping it, the Romans only wishing to postpone more active measures until the war with Carthage should be brought to a close. An opportunity for recommencing hostilities presented itself in B. C. 200, when Philip ravaged the territory of Athens, which was in alliance with Rome. At first this war also was carried on with little energy by the Romans, and Philip, being supported by several Greek states, gained some advantages over them; but things assumed a different aspect in B. C. 198, when the consul Quinctius Flamininus undertook the command, and with great boldness advanced into Thessaly. The hostile armies met near a range of hills called Cynoscephalæ, that is, dogs' heads; and in the ensuing battle, Philip was so completely defeated as to be obliged to conclude a peace, which bound him to recognise the independence of Greece, to surrender a great part of his ships of war, to pay a large sum of money, and to give hostages as a security for his future conduct. The peace was concluded in B. C. 197, and in the year following, Flamininus, during the celebration of the Isthmian games, proclaimed the freedom and independence of all Greece. The thoughtless people, forgetting that true freedom cannot be the gift of a ruler or conqueror, overlooked the fact that in reality they were only changing masters.

5. War against Antiochus the Great.—In their wars against Macedonia, the Romans had been supported by the Ætolians, who, looking upon themselves as having been the chief instruments in humbling Philip, fancied they had been neglected and overlooked by the Romans. Their feeling of discontent, being increased by other circumstances, induced them to stir up Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, to make war against the Romans. They were seconded in their solicitations by Hannibal, who, after the conclusion of peace between Rome and Carthage, as a true patriot had endeavoured to remedy some very glaring abuses among his countrymen. This had drawn upon him the hatred of a powerful party; and as the Romans too lost no opportunity of undermining his authority, he was obliged, in B. C. 196, to go into exile. He took refuge at the court of Antiochus, who a short time before had been provoked by the Romans, by their demanding of him to give up his possessions in Thrace, and to restore the independence of the Greek states in Asia. When the Ætolians therefore invited him to cross over into Europe, he willingly seized the opportunity; but

instead of following the advice of Hannibal to ally himself with Philip of Macedonia, and attack the Romans in their own country, Antiochus, in B. C. 192, crossed over into Euboea, where he wasted his time in frivolous amusements, and foolishly offended Philip, while the Romans were rapidly marching into Thessaly. In the following year, however, his army and the Ætolians met the Romans at Thermopylæ. The latter were commanded by Acilius Glabrio, who without much difficulty succeeded in routing his enemies. Antiochus immediately fled back into Asia, and the Ætolians asked and obtained a separate peace for themselves.

The Romans at once determined to pursue the Syrian king, and in B. C. 190, C. Lælius and L. Cornelius Scipio, accompanied by his great brother Publius, led an army of 20,000 men into Asia. They first offered terms of peace; but as the haughty Syrian refused to listen to any proposals, the issue had to be decided by force of arms, and the battle of Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus, showed how little Asiatic hosts were capable of resisting the Roman legions. After the battle, Antiochus fled to Syria and sued for peace, which was granted to him on condition that he should give up all his possessions west of Mount Taurus in Asia Minor, surrender all his ships of war, and pay a large sum of money. The Romans moreover demanded of him to surrender Hannibal, and not to interfere in the affairs of their allies. They however had no desire to take possession of the countries wrested from the Syrian monarch, but for the present distributed them among the Rhodians, Eumenes king of Pergamus, and other friends and allies. Hannibal, seeing that his life was not safe at the court of Antiochus, fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia; but as this prince too was unable to afford him the necessary protection, the great Carthaginian put an end to his life by poison, B. C. 183.

6. Wars in the West, and final Subjugation of Macedonia.—While the Romans were engaged in their wars against Macedonia and Syria, the peace had been disturbed in the north of Italy by the insurrection of several Gallic tribes, among whom the Boians defied the Romans for a period of nearly twenty years; but all the Gauls were ultimately compelled to submit, and the nation of the Boians seems to have been completely annihilated. In Spain, too, Rome had to maintain her dominion by force, for, owing to the avarice and treachery of the governors sent to that province, the inhabitants were constantly driven into rebellion. A great war was carried on there from B. C. 181 to B. C. 179, which

was brought to a close by Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who was so fair and honourable towards the natives that he was long and gratefully remembered by them.

Philip of Macedonia died in B. C. 179, and was succeeded by his son Perseus, who was animated by the same hostile feelings towards Rome as his father, and immediately after his accession made vigorous preparations for a conflict with her, which he saw could not be avoided. He was a man of a miserly disposition, and although his father had left him a well-stocked treasury, he could not prevail upon himself to part with his money for the purpose of supporting his friends and allies. He declared war against Rome in B. C. 171, and after having gained some momentary advantages, he was defeated by Æmilius Paullus in the battle of Pydna, B. C. 168, and afterwards led captive to Rome with all his family. The Romans endeavoured to secure the submission of Macedonia by cutting it up into four distinct provinces, which had neither connubium nor commercium, upon the well-known principle of *Divide et impera*.

Shortly after the battle of Pydna, one thousand illustrious Achæans, and among them the great historian Polybius, were charged with having secretly espoused the cause of Perseus, and sent to Italy to be tried. But instead of being allowed to defend their conduct, they were kept as prisoners until B. C. 151, when, owing to their wretched treatment, their number was reduced to 300. A similar charge was brought against the Rhodians, who were deprived of their possessions in Asia, and compelled to recognise the supremacy of Rome. About nineteen years after the battle of Pydna, an attempt was made to revolutionize Macedonia, and to shake off the yoke of Rome. A runaway slave of the name of Andriscus, pretending to be a son of the late king Perseus, came forward and claimed the throne of Macedonia. As Rome then happened to be engaged in her last war against Carthage, many thousands of Macedonians rallied round the standard of Andriscus, and the affair threatened to become dangerous; but the pretender and his followers were crushed by Cæcilius Metellus, in B. C. 148, in a battle near Pydna, whereupon Macedonia was made a Roman province.

EXERCISES.

1. Trace Hannibal's route from Spain to Italy. Describe what occurred on his march. What generals were sent against him? Name the three victories he gained, with particulars of the last. What new general was sent against him? Describe the stratagem by which he saved his army at Casilinum. Describe the battle of Cannæ.

2. How did Hannibal act after his victory? Who was his opponent in Italy? What took place in Sicily? Describe the proceedings of the Scipios in Spain. What was the fate of Hasdrubal? What influence had it upon Hannibal? What young general was sent against him?

3. How did Scipio begin the campaign? What was Hannibal required to do? When and where was a decisive battle fought? Give the terms of the treaty of peace. How was Scipio rewarded?

4. What caused the first Macedonian war? How was it carried on? Where and when was Philip defeated? What terms of peace were exacted? What proclamation was made by Flamininus?

5. What was the origin of the war with Antiochus? What did Hannibal advise? How came he into Syria? How did Antiochus prosecute the war? What was the result? Who led the Roman army into Asia? What were its exploits? Describe the end of Hannibal's career.

6. What happened in Northern Italy? And in Spain? Who ended the Spanish war? How did he behave to the people? Who was the last king of Macedon? What was his character? Narrate the events of the war. How were the Achæans treated? And the Rhodians? Describe the last struggle of Macedon?

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE FINAL SUBJUGATION OF MACEDONIA TILL THE TIME OF THE GRACCHI, B. C. 148 TO B. C. 133.

Conquest of Greece—Third Punic War—Internal Condition of Rome—Wars against Viriathus and Numantia.

1. CONQUEST OF GREECE.—The Greeks had for a long time been distracted by internal feuds, intrigues, and treachery. Metellus, the conqueror of Macedonia, who was favourably disposed to them, desired them to keep peace, promising that their affairs should be inquired into by Roman commissioners. But when his envoys appeared before the assembled Achæans at Corinth they were treated with scorn and insolence. A second embassy fared no better, and the thoughtless Greeks even went so far as to declare war against Rome, B. C. 147. Metellus, who was still engaged in Macedonia, now marched southwards and twice defeated Critolaus, the leader of the Achæans, who himself perished in his attempt to escape. Diæus, the other commander of the Greeks, collected their remaining forces on the isthmus of Corinth, and Metellus, after chastising the Thebans for having taken part in the war, once more offered terms of peace; but Diæus would listen to nothing. While these events were going on, Metellus's term of office came to a close, and the command passed into the hands of L. Mummius, a rude soldier, who had no sympathy

with the Greeks. Without delay, he assembled his forces on the isthmus of Corinth, in B. C. 146, and in the battle of Leucopetra the fate of Greece was decided for ever. Three days after the engagement, Mummius entered Corinth, which was sacked and destroyed; all its male population being put to the sword, and the rest sold as slaves. Mummius did not, however, confine his ravages to Corinth and its neighbourhood, but nearly all Peloponnesus was devastated, and many a town was changed into a heap of ruins. The political independence of Greece was utterly destroyed, and the country made a Roman province under the name of Achaia. But Greece, and especially Athens, still remained for several centuries a famous seat of literature, and many a young Roman, wishing to obtain an education superior to that attainable in Italy, repaired to Athens as to a great university.

2. THIRD PUNIC WAR.—Carthage after the second Punic war enjoyed a period of peace with Rome for upwards of half a century, and during this time she recovered to some extent, by industry and commerce, her former prosperity. But this very prosperity was an eyesore to the Romans, and kept alive their fear and jealousy. They constantly instigated Masinissa, the ruler of Numidia, to annoy and harass the Carthaginians in his vicinity; and when complaints were made against him, the Romans either decided in his favour or disregarded the accusations altogether. At Rome itself there existed a party, headed by Cato, which openly and on every occasion proclaimed the necessity of destroying the African republic. Masinissa, by his repeated encroachments, at length drove the Carthaginians to the necessity of defending themselves against him, and to take into their own hands the justice which was refused them by Rome. This was the moment which the Romans had long been expecting, and, with at least the appearance of justice on their side, they now charged Carthage with having violated the treaty. The Carthaginians, with the greatest humility, not only apologized for the offence, but to show that they had no evil intentions, sent 300 of their noblest citizens as hostages to Rome, and surrendered all their ships and arms, B. C. 149. When Carthage was thus reduced to a most helpless condition, the Romans required the inhabitants to raze their city to the ground, and build a new one at some distance from the coast. This was more than human nature could brook; and the people of Carthage, in a state of despair and frenzy, at once resolved to perish under the ruins of their own habitations rather than yield to such insolence. The whole city was at once transformed into a

camp, in which men and women, old and young, contributed whatever was in their power towards delivering their country from its treacherous enemy. The valour and daring of the Carthaginians were roused to an almost supernatural degree; and the Romans after having been repulsed several times, and even thrown into imminent danger, raised P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Æmilius Paullus, to the consulship for the year B. C. 147. He was still very young, and had already given proofs of extraordinary military talent; but even he made no impression upon Carthage, until after a protracted siege had inflicted terrible sufferings on its inhabitants. Even then Scipio had to conquer every inch of ground by the most bloody struggles in the streets of the city, which lasted for six days. Carthage was taken in B. C. 146, and set on fire by the infuriated soldiers. The conflagration is said to have raged uninterruptedly for seventeen days, and to have changed the most flourishing commercial city on the Mediterranean into one mass of ruins. A small band of Carthaginians had taken refuge in the temple of Æsculapius, situated on the highest point of the city, and there manfully defended themselves; but when at last they saw that all was hopeless, they set fire to the temple and perished in the flames. 50,000 Carthaginians who survived the destruction of their city were sold as slaves; and Scipio, like his great namesake, was honoured with the surname of Africanus. The site of the ancient city was declared accursed ground to prevent its being built upon again, and the whole territory over which Carthage had ruled was constituted into a Roman province under the name of Africa.

3. Internal Condition of Rome.—The conquests of Rome during the last sixty years virtually made her the mistress of all the countries round the basin of the Mediterranean; the kingdoms of Numidia, Egypt, and Pergamus, still enjoyed indeed a kind of independence, but it was only nominal, and was soon to cease altogether. It was evident that Rome must become the ruler of the world: one conquest forced her on to another often against her own inclinations, and merely to secure peace within her own dominions. The state of her outward prosperity, however, formed a striking contrast to her internal condition; for she had scarcely a body of citizens that could be called a middle class; and while on the one hand pauperism was ever on the increase, the upper classes were rolling in wealth and indulged in the most extravagant luxuries. In the place of the old patrician aristocracy, a new one had sprung up, which without being privileged by law

claimed for itself exclusively the highest offices in the state. It consisted of wealthy families that could boast of ancestors who had been invested with the consulship. These *optimates* or *nobiles*, as they were called, were as exclusive in their pretensions as the patricians had been of old. All those who did not belong to this class were stigmatized as *obscuri*, that is, obscure persons; and if any of the latter ever gained a high office, he was regarded as a *novus homo*, that is, an upstart, a term corresponding with the *parvenu* of France before the Revolution. After the formation of this new aristocracy, a contest arose between those who possessed all the material and political power and those who had neither; it was a contest practically between the rich and the poor, and in many respects resembled that which had formerly been carried on between the patricians and plebeians.

The influence of the Greeks upon the civilisation of the Romans had manifested itself at a very early period, especially in the introduction of Greek gods and Greek forms of worship; so that many points connected with the ancient national religion of the Italians were forgotten, and had become matters of antiquarian research even among the Romans themselves. But the influence became still greater when Macedonia and Greece were changed into Roman provinces. The intellectual superiority of the Greeks was generally acknowledged, and all Romans of rank considered an acquaintance with their language and literature to be a necessary part of the education of their sons. Everything Greek became fashionable, and along with the excellencies of the Grecian character, its follies and vices also were adopted. But there still existed at Rome a powerful party consisting of men who had seen the "good old times," and tenaciously clung to them, violently denouncing the new fashion of the day. This party was headed by M. Porcius Cato, the censor, who manfully struggled against the innovations in the manner of living among his countrymen, and especially against the influence of Greek literature; for many Greek works were then translated into Latin, or adapted to the taste of the Romans, who sometimes, instead of writing Latin, composed their own works in Greek. In B. C. 155, three Greek philosophers were sent by the Athenians as ambassadors to Rome: during their stay there they delivered lectures which attracted crowds of young men, and Cato, dreading their influence upon the rising generation, carried a decree ordering them to quit the city. But it was not only by legal enactments that he endeavoured to check the pernicious tendency of his age; he also distinguished himself as

an author in the Latin language, for he composed a work on agriculture, which was still regarded as the most honourable occupation of a Roman; and another on the history of the Italian nations. Even Cato, however, was unable to resist the spirit of the times, and in his old age he commenced the study of Greek.

The wealth which had been amassed by the leading families of Rome during the late conquests was immense, and could not fail to produce a most injurious influence upon the manners and morality of the Romans. The simple and frugal mode of life of their ancestors was gradually abandoned; they began to build magnificent villas, filled with the most costly furniture and the most precious works of art which had been carried away from the conquered cities. The pursuit of agriculture was more and more neglected, and the young men preferred a military life, which rewarded their toils with wealth and enjoyment. Those who had the command of armies, knowing that their position depended upon the votes of the popular assembly, neglected no means of winning the favour of the soldiers and the citizens. It has been truly said that this hunting after popularity was one of the most fatal disorders of the Roman republic. The rich lavished enormous sums upon games and public exhibitions to gain the favour of the multitude, who were by this means corrupted and demoralized; for the fights of gladiators and wild beasts in the circus fostered in the Roman people a delight in bloodshed, and familiarized them with scenes which should have filled them with disgust and horror. The populace of Rome by reckless extravagance was plunged into poverty and distress; and while usurers amassed enormous wealth, the poor in their pride as Romans looked with contempt and scorn upon those foreigners whom the misfortune of war had reduced to slavery; for the city abounded in slaves who served their masters as secretaries, readers, teachers, tutors, cooks, and domestic servants, while others were employed in agricultural labour, which had once been the support of free men. But all these elements of internal corruption and decay were manifest only to the keen glance of the statesman, for the outward splendour of the republic was still so great as to dazzle the eye of the ordinary beholder.

The ruling optimates were ever eager for fresh wars and conquests; for when at the head of armies, or appointed governors of provinces, they generally did not find it difficult to amass enormous wealth. The Roman government did not itself levy the taxes in the provinces, but allowed the

great capitalists (*equites*) to farm all the provincial revenues, which were collected either by these farmers (*publicani*) themselves or by their agents. A wide field was thus left open for extortion and oppression, and what was not carried away by the publicani was absorbed by usurers and money-lenders, who usually rushed in great numbers into a country as soon as it became a Roman province, and a few years were often sufficient to ruin its prosperity. The provincials might indeed seek redress by bringing an action for extortion (*de repetundis*) against their rulers; but the judges who had to decide in such cases were Roman senators who had themselves either been guilty of similar offences, or were looking forward to opportunities of committing them, and at the hands of such judges the provincials could hope for no redress of their grievances.

4. WARS AGAINST VIRIATHUS AND NUMANTIA.—A most flagrant example of cruelty and oppression was exhibited in Spain by Sulpicius Galba, who by his treacherous conduct stirred up a general insurrection in the country; and having induced the people by promises of impunity to appear before him without their arms, committed the additional atrocity of ordering them all to be massacred by his soldiery. Viriathus, a Lusitanian of humble origin, but animated by an ardent love of his country, was one of the few men who escaped with his life from that fearful massacre. He assembled around him as many of his countrymen as were willing to avenge the wrongs they were suffering, and for a period of eight years, from B. C. 148 to B. C. 140, carried on a war in which the Romans were often defeated and sustained serious losses. A peace was then concluded, in which Rome was obliged to recognise Viriathus as their friend and ally. But this was too much for Roman pride to brook; the war was renewed, and the Romans despatched their gallant enemy by causing him to be murdered in his own tent by hired assassins. The Lusitanians, however, persevered in their war against Rome until B. C. 137, when they were obliged to submit.

A war with the Celtiberians, another Spanish tribe, had broken out in the year B. C. 143, and was continued for several years, during which their capital, Numantia, situated on a lofty eminence by the river Durius, offered the most desperate resistance. In B. C. 137, the consul Hostilius Mancinus was reduced by the Numantines to such straits as to be forced to conclude a peace in which he recognised their independence. The proud senate of Rome, however, disowned the treaty, delivered up Mancinus to the enemy, and ordered

the war to be continued. The brave Numantines refused to take revenge upon the unfortunate Mancinus, and continued to defend themselves with the same heroism as before. At last P. Cornelius Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, was commissioned to undertake the command against the devoted city. He conducted his operations with the utmost vigour, and the besieged were reduced to such extremities by famine that for a time they fed upon the corpses of their fellow-citizens. At length in B. C. 133, after having killed their wives and children, the small number of survivors threw open the gates of the fortress and surrendered. Scipio ordered the city to be destroyed, and its ruins still exist as a monument of the heroic valour of its inhabitants. Spain was now made a Roman province, and being in a state of exhaustion, remained quiet for upwards of thirty years, after which fresh acts of oppression rekindled the war.

In the same year in which this war was brought to a close, Attalus III., king of Pergamus, died, bequeathing his kingdom to the Roman people. Two years later, Aristonicus, a kinsman of the late king, declaring the bequest illegal, claimed the kingdom as his lawful inheritance. He soon succeeded in rousing the nations to a general insurrection against Rome, and a war ensued which lasted until the following year, and in which the Romans experienced serious losses. At last, however, Aristonicus was taken prisoner by M. Perperna, and sent to Rome in triumph. The kingdom of Pergamus, with the exception of Phrygia, which was given to the king of Pontus as a reward for his assistance, was made a Roman province under the name of Asia.

EXERCISES.

1. How did the Greeks behave? Describe the proceedings of Metellus. What was the character of his successor? How did he carry on the war? Describe its course. What new power was given to Greece? What is said of Athens?

2. How did the Carthaginians show their sincerity? What further conditions did the Romans require? How did the Carthaginians then act? What new general was appointed by Rome? Describe the final siege of Carthage?

3. What was the extent of the Roman conquests? What was the condition of the Roman people? Describe the new kind of aristocracy that had sprung up. Explain the terms *obscuri* and *novus homo*. What influence did Greece exercise upon Roman civilisation? Who was at the head of the old Roman party? How did Cato treat the new philosophers? What works did he write? Describe the effects of the increase of wealth upon Roman manners. How did the rich strive to gain the favour of the people? What was the condition of the lower classes?

Why were the upper classes eager for war? Who were the *publicani*? What remedy had the provincials against their extortion? Was it effectual?

4. What caused an insurrection in Spain? By whom was it headed? What was his career and end? Where is Numantia? Who was sent against it? Describe the siege. What events led to the annexation of Pergamus?

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE TIME OF THE GRACCHI TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE FIRST WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES, FROM B. C. 133 TO B. C. 88.

Condition of Italy at this Time—Tib. Sempronius Gracchus—C. Sempronius Gracchus—War against Jugurtha—War against the Cimbri and Teutoni—Disturbances at Rome—The Social War.

1. CONDITION OF ITALY ABOUT THIS TIME.—It has already been observed that the optimates were as exclusive in their claims and pretensions as the patrician aristocrats had been in their day. Their number was comparatively small, but they monopolized the administration of the republic and of foreign provinces, and they alone reaped glory and wealth from the incessant wars in which Rome was involved, while the great body of the people, who filled the ranks of the armies, were suffering severely by the constant and protracted wars abroad. Thousands of them had lost their little estates, and were pining in abject poverty, while the optimates, claiming for themselves the exclusive right of occupying the public land, were revelling in the most extravagant luxuries. The small landed proprietors, who had once constituted the main strength of the Roman republic, had almost entirely disappeared, and their places were occupied by numbers of citizens spending their lives in wretched idleness, and ready to sell their votes in the assembly to the highest bidder. Formerly the wealthy landed proprietors had their princely estates cultivated by free peasants or clients, and so long as this was the case matters had been in a tolerably healthy condition, because an impoverished husbandman might support himself and his family by working as an agricultural labourer; but when the nobles began to employ slave labour instead of that of free men, who were now driven to a life of homeless wanderers in their own country, a few of the more humane statesmen among the Romans felt the necessity of devising some remedy. What was wanted was the creation of an independent middle class,

either by distributing the public land, of which the state possessed a vast amount, among the poor, or by admitting the Latins to the full franchise. But the former was distasteful to the avarice and selfishness of the optimates, and the latter to the pride of even the humblest Roman. The insurrection of the slaves, which broke out in Sicily in B. C. 134, and was accompanied by all the horrors of a servile war against their masters, must have increased the apprehensions of all true patriots, for it showed them unmistakably to what the present state of affairs in Italy might ultimately lead.

2. TIB. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.—Under these circumstances, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, a son of Cornelia, the daughter of the elder Scipio Africanus, who was made tribune of the plebs for the year B. C. 133, openly came forward as the friend and protector of the poor. He proposed to re-enact, with some modifications, the old agrarian law of C. Licinius Stolo, which had in the course of time become a dead letter. Three commissioners were to be appointed to superintend the measurement of the public land, and the distribution of the amount taken away from its unlawful occupants as full property among poor citizens. The property moreover which had just been bequeathed to the Romans by King Attalus was to be divided among the same poor, to enable them to purchase stock and the necessary implements for their new farms. To this the nobility, headed by the stubborn and headstrong P. Scipio Nasica, offered the most desperate opposition, and by intrigues prevailed upon another tribune, Octavius, by his veto to put a stop to the proceedings of his colleague. Octavius was easily induced to give his aid to the optimates, because he himself was one of those who occupied more public land than the law allowed. Gracchus made every exertion to induce his colleague to withdraw his veto, and even offered to give him compensation out of his own means for the loss he might sustain. But all was to no purpose, and Gracchus found himself compelled either to abandon his scheme altogether, or to take a step which was unprecedented in the history of Rome—to propose the deposition of Octavius. He chose the latter alternative, and in the assembly of the people advised them to deprive Octavius of his office of tribune. This plan succeeded: Octavius was deposed, and another tribune having been elected, the agrarian bill of Gracchus was passed. But he had now given his opponents a handle; for, as he had done what no one had attempted before, his enemies denounced him as a man whose object was to overturn the constitution, and went so far even as to declare that he

was aiming at kingly power. This calumny was but too readily believed by the ignorant people, and Gracchus soon found that his popularity was on the wane. When the election of tribunes for the next year took place, Gracchus offered himself as a candidate for re-election; but the optimates and their partisans created a tumult, in which Gracchus himself and 300 of his friends were slain, and on the next morning their bodies were thrown into the Tiber. The aristocracy was triumphant, and made a bloody use of its victory, which was followed by every kind of persecution, for the nobles now took revenge for the fears they had endured of losing their illegal possessions. The law of Gracchus, however, remained unrepealed, though no means were left untried to prevent its being duly carried into effect. Many of the men whose opposition was dreaded were removed from the city, by being appointed to offices in distant provinces.

3. C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.—But the tribunes had now become aware of their real power, and during the ten years which followed, several of them carried popular measures in defiance of their opponents; and notwithstanding the fate of his brother, C. Sempronius Gracchus sought and obtained the tribuneship for the year B. C. 123. He immediately undertook a series of legislative measures, the object of which was to better the condition of the poor and to weaken the power of the nobles. During the first year of his office he re-enacted his brother's agrarian law, and his eloquence and upright conduct procured his re-election for the year following. As it was a notorious fact that the senators when called upon to try offences committed against the provincials always endeavoured to screen the offenders, who were generally senators, C. Gracchus carried a law by which such offences were tried by courts composed of equites or wealthy capitalists, who seemed less likely to allow the noble offenders to escape with impunity or to make justice venal. At the same time he procured employment for the needy by the construction of public roads, aqueducts, and other works of general utility. In all this he displayed the most extraordinary energy and activity, and his labours went on as satisfactorily as could be expected. One of his friends, Fulvius Flaccus, a man of a somewhat more vehement temperament than himself, induced him to propose the extension of the Roman franchise to the Latins. This measure exasperated not only the nobles, but many of those whose pride would not allow them to share the privileges of citizens with men whom they looked upon as their inferiors; and Livius Drusus, one of his colleagues, was induced by the

optimates to bring forward a series of measures calculated to undermine the popularity of Gracchus, and to confer upon the people advantages which, in appearance at least, were greater even than those offered by Gracchus. The result of this unpatriotic scheme was, that when the election of tribunes came on, Gracchus was not re-elected. Being now stripped of the sacred character of a tribune, his enemies became less scrupulous, and attempts were made to abolish all his enactments. Disturbances in the city were of daily occurrence, and an outcry being raised that the republic was in danger, the consul L. Opimius was invested with dictatorial power to save the state. A battle was fought in the streets of Rome, in which Gracchus and his followers were overpowered. Fulvius Flaccus and 3000 of his friends were slain and their bodies thrown into the Tiber. Gracchus himself escaped across the river into the grove of the Furies, where at his own request a faithful slave put an end to his existence. These scenes of bloodshed were followed as before by the exile and imprisonment of many of the best citizens; and when the aristocracy thought their work completed, they committed the mockery of dedicating a temple to Concord. But a peace obtained by such means and under such circumstances could not be lasting, and the day of retribution was not far distant. The exertions of the two Gracchi, noble and disinterested as they were, produced no permanent benefits to the state, and things continued nearly in the same way as before.

4. War against Jugurtha.—Events were about to happen at a distance which were destined to bring to a head the evils from which Rome was suffering. When Masinissa, king of Numidia, died, he left his kingdom to his two sons, who were to rule conjointly with Jugurtha, whom the aged monarch had adopted. Jugurtha, however, knowing the venal character and moral depravity of the Roman rulers, and feeling sure that he might do anything with impunity if he were but profuse in bribes, murdered the two sons of Masinissa, and took possession of the whole kingdom. The Romans, as had been expected, merely looked on, and were induced by the gold of the usurper to connive at his crimes. The noble tribune, Caius Memmius, at last unmasked the villanies that were perpetrated, and almost forced the senate to declare war against Jugurtha, B.C. 111. Armies were indeed sent into Africa, but their commanders soon discovered that they might gain greater advantages from negotiating with the Numidian usurper than from a vigorous prosecution of the war. When their proceedings became known at Rome, the honest indignation of Memmius was

again roused, and he boldly denounced the dishonourable conduct of the African commanders. The result was that Jugurtha was summoned to come to Rome. He obeyed the call; but while staying in the city he had the audacity openly to murder Massiva, the young grandson of Masinissa, and if it had not been for this crime he might still have purchased his acquittal. As it was, however, he was obliged to flee to his country, and the war against him was continued. It was conducted in the same slovenly and inefficient manner as before, until at last the senate, alarmed at the symptoms of a coming storm, intrusted, in B. C. 109, the command to Q. Cæcilius Metellus. He was indeed a proud aristocrat, but honest and brave, and conducted the war for a period of two years in a most honourable manner. When he went to Africa, he was accompanied by C. Marius, one of his lieutenants. This man was a person of humble origin, but of unbounded ambition and full of hatred of the aristocracy, their polished manners and fashionable accomplishments, of which it was his boast to be thoroughly ignorant. He was a rude but brave soldier, and had already attracted some attention by the part he had taken against the exclusive pretensions of the nobles. The people, having lost confidence in their aristocratic generals, looked to him alone as the man who had both the power and the will to conduct the war honestly, and bring it to a favourable termination. He had scarcely been in Africa one year, when he informed Metellus that he meant to go to Rome to offer himself as a candidate for the consulship. Metellus received the announcement with a haughty sneer; but Marius, whose hatred of aristocratic insolence was only increased by it, proceeded to Rome, where he was elected consul for B. C. 107 with the greatest enthusiasm, and was commissioned at once to go to Africa as the successor to Metellus. He increased the number of his soldiers by enlisting the citizens of the poorer classes, who had hitherto been exempt from military service, and even freedmen; and the able manner in which he trained and disciplined his troops soon showed to the Numidian that his opponent was a man of a different stamp from his predecessors. Jugurtha was reduced to such extremities as to be obliged to apply for assistance to Bocchus, his father-in-law, who was king of Mauritania. But L. Cornelius Sulla, a young Roman noble who was serving in the army as paymaster or quæstor, induced Bocchus treacherously to surrender his own son-in-law. Jugurtha accordingly was delivered up into the hands of Sulla, who forwarded the captive to Marius. This happened in B. C. 106. Jugurtha was

carried to Rome in triumph, and afterwards starved to death in a Roman dungeon.

5. War against the Cimbri and Teutones.—It was fortunate for Rome that the war against Jugurtha was brought to a close, for Italy was threatened by an invasion of barbarians more formidable than any it had yet experienced. These were the Cimbri and Teutones, the former apparently Celts, and the latter Germans. They had probably been pushed forward by commotions among the eastern and northern nations, and the two hosts joined each other in B. C. 113 on the banks of the Danube. The Cimbri, who appear to have only been wandering in search of new homes in the western parts of Europe, promised to commit no act of hostility against the Romans or their allies. But notwithstanding this declaration, which they honourably carried into effect, the Romans attacked them near Noreia, but had to pay for their treacherous conduct by the complete defeat of their army. The Cimbri then proceeded westward into Gaul, and were joined on their passage by other tribes. Gaul was devastated in all directions, and the natives were unable to resist the invaders. Consular armies were sent against them year after year, but the barbarians were victorious in every engagement. All Italy was in a state of the greatest alarm; the consulship had become an object of dread rather than ambition, and Marius again was the only man to whom the Romans looked with confidence. He was still engaged in settling the affairs of Numidia when the people elected him in his absence to the consulate for the year B. C. 104. The Cimbri after having laid waste Gaul had marched into Spain, where they made equal havoc, and did not return to Gaul till B. C. 102, when they were again joined by the Teutones. Marius, who was honoured with the consulate year after year, availed himself of the absence of the Cimbri by training his army and accustoming them to every kind of hardship. When therefore the Cimbri returned to Gaul, Marius was ready to meet them. He first fought a decisive battle against the Teutones in B. C. 102, near Aquæ Sextiæ, and so completely defeated them that their whole nation was nearly annihilated. But while thus one-half of the danger was removed, the Cimbri were already descending into Italy. The Roman army, under Q. Lutatius Catulus, which was to oppose them, had to retreat before the invading hosts to the southern banks of the Po. As soon as Marius heard of this, he hastened to the relief of Catulus, and in the Campi Raudii gained as decisive a victory over the Cimbri as he had won

the year before over the Teutones, and a small number only made their escape. Marius now standing forth as the deliverer of Italy and the pride of the popular party, was rewarded for his achievements by his sixth consulship for the year B. C. 100.

6. DISTURBANCES AT ROME.—The optimates, alarmed at the success of the opposition in the person of its champion, now rallied under the leadership of Sulla, who was as ambitious as his rival, but had received the education of a young Roman of the highest rank. His success in the war against Jugurtha had only increased the bitter feelings which were rankling in the bosom of Marius. The latter had now become intoxicated by the unprecedented honours showered upon him in consequence of his glorious victories, and behaved in many respects as if he were the absolute ruler of the republic. He was at this time connected with the tribune L. Apuleius Saturninus, who domineered over the popular assembly by a band of armed followers, and carried a series of popular measures by mere force and violence. One of his proposals was, that the lands conquered by Marius in Africa and Gaul should be distributed among the veteran soldiers. To this a clause was added, that if the law was voted by the people, the senate should be bound to ratify it within five days, and that every senator who did not take the oath should be fined twenty talents. Metellus, who alone refused to sanction what he considered revolutionary proceedings, was obliged to go into exile. Saturninus went so far in his daring as to secure his election to the tribuneship a second time by causing his competitors to be murdered in broad daylight. Having succeeded in this, he also attempted to obtain the consulship for Servilius Glaucia, one of his associates, by causing the noble-minded C. Memmius to be assassinated, B. C. 100. This and many similar acts of atrocity at length induced Marius to renounce his connexion with him, and he himself called upon his fellow-citizens to save the republic from the monster. Saturninus and his associates retired to the Capitol, where they were besieged and soon compelled to surrender at discretion. Nearly all of them were put to death by the command of Marius, who shortly after withdrew for a time from public life. After these scenes of horror, peace seemed to be restored; but the two parties were only biding their time, and it was evident that matters could not long remain as they were.

The ambitious designs of Sulla became more and more visible, as he claimed for himself alone the merit of having brought the war against Jugurtha to a successful termina-

tion. The most prominent topics of that day at Rome were the questions about a reform of the courts of justice, and the extension of the franchise to the Latins. The reform of the law courts introduced by C. Gracchus had proved a complete failure, and it had been found in the course of time that the equites were as accessible to bribes as the senators had been before. The Latins, whose hopes had been excited by Gracchus, had for some time loudly complained of their exclusion from the franchise, and no one seemed to be able to devise remedies acceptable to all parties. At length the eloquent and bold tribune, M. Livius Drusus, undertook the dangerous task. He first proposed a law by which the judicial power was to be divided between the senators and equites; his next measure was intended to check the growth of pauperism by agrarian laws, the establishment of colonies in the conquered countries, and distributions of corn among the poorer classes; and, lastly, in a third measure, he demanded the full franchise not only for the Latins but for all the Italians. But while he was engaged with these schemes, he was murdered in his own house, B. C. 91, and all hopes of arriving at a peaceful settlement of the agitating questions of the day were at an end.

7. THE SOCIAL WAR.—The murder of Drusus at once showed the Italians that nothing was to be gained by peaceful and constitutional means, and they now resolved to conquer by force of arms that which had been obstinately refused to their petitions. A war broke out simultaneously in all parts of Italy, B. C. 90, in which the Latins and all those Italians who had hitherto been the allies (*socii*) of Rome demanded the rights of Roman citizens. This war is called the Social or Marsic war, from the Marsi acting as the leaders of the movement. It should be observed that ever since the end of the first Punic war the Romans had not conferred the franchise upon any of the districts which had been conquered by them, and that the number of thirty-five tribes or districts endowed with the franchise had never been increased. The several nations of Italy, however, were not all put upon a footing of equality, and the Latins and the Latin colonies established in various parts of Italy enjoyed rights and privileges which approached nearest to the Roman franchise. These Latins therefore naturally thought they had a right to be considered first in any reform that might be proposed. But their demands, as well as those of the other Italians, were treated with scorn and contempt whenever they had ventured to urge them. And now when the murder of Drusus had destroyed

all their hopes, the Sabellian nations, headed by the Marsi and Samnites, formed themselves into a confederacy and renounced obedience to Rome. Their plan was to establish an Italian republic with Corfinium, which was to be called Italica, for its capital. The confederates had well-trained armies and ample funds at their command, and everything seemed to promise success. But what saved Rome was the circumstance that the Latins, Etruscans, and Umbrians, were slow in joining the confederates; and the Romans, to secure the fidelity of the Latins, at once sanctioned a law proposed by L. Julius Cæsar, which conferred the franchise upon them, B. C. 90. Central and Southern Italy were in open insurrection, and many a bloody battle was fought. When the war had been carried on for nearly two years, the Umbrians and Etruscans also were ready to join the insurgents; but Rome prevented this step by extending the franchise to these nations also. By such concessions she weakened the strength and diminished the hopes of the allies; but as she herself was desirous of bringing this disastrous war to a close, the franchise was granted to all those Italians who should lay down their arms. This measure produced the desired effect, and put an end to the Social war, which, although it had lasted scarcely three years, had cost Italy the lives of 300,000 men. The Samnites alone continued the contest, and were determined if possible to raze Rome to the ground; their struggle continued until the civil war between Marius and Sulla, in which they joined the former. The Italians, however, who had now obtained the Roman franchise, were placed in such a position that they still felt the existence of a gulf between themselves and the old citizens, and this arrangement in the course of time could not but be productive of evil.

EXERCISES.

1. Describe the condition of Italy in the time of the Gracchi. What had become of the middle class? How was it proposed to revive this class? Date of the slave insurrection in Sicily.

2. Who was Tiberius Gracchus? In what year was he elected tribune? What reforms did he attempt? By whom were they opposed? How did he get rid of one of his opponents? What occasioned his loss of popularity? State what followed.

3. When was Caius Gracchus elected tribune? What were his first measures? What new tribunal was established? How did he employ the indigent poor? What new law was proposed by one of his friends? How did the senate try to thwart his measures? In what did Gracchus fail? Describe what followed. What were the subsequent proceedings of the optimates?

4. What events led to the Jugurthine war? What Roman denounced

the atrocities of Jugurtha? Describe the course of the war. How did Jugurtha act when in Rome? Who was sent against him? Give an account of Marius. When was Marius made consul? Of whom did Jugurtha seek assistance? What was his end? Who was Sulla?

5. What new war threatened the existence of Rome? Where did these barbarians come from? Describe the course of their migration and their victories. What great general was sent against them? In what battles did he defeat them?

6. How did Marius now conduct himself? Who was his chief agent in Rome? What extravagant proposals did he make, and by whom were they resisted? Describe the subsequent career of Saturninus. What became of Marius? Who now became ascendant in Rome? What great reforms were needed? What laws were proposed by Livius Drusus? What was his end?

7. Describe the origin of the Social war. In what year did it break out? What people took the lead? What was the plan of the confederates? What saved Rome? What law did L. J. Cæsar propose? How did Rome further weaken the allies? Describe the result of the war. By whom was the struggle still prolonged?

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE FIRST WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES DOWN TO THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN CÆSAR AND POMPEY, FROM B. C. 88 TO B. C. 49.

First War against Mithridates—Disturbances at Rome, and return of Sulla—Sulla's Tyranny and Legislation—Second War against Mithridates—Sulla's Reforms abolished—Q. Sertorius—Servile War under Spartacus—War against the Pirates—Third War against Mithridates—Cicero's Consulship—Cæsar and his Campaigns in Gaul.

1. FIRST WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES.—We have already seen that after the defeat of Aristonicus, the pretender to the throne of Pergamus, a portion of the kingdom was given to the king of Pontus as a reward for the services he had rendered to the Romans. When the Pontic king died, he was succeeded by his young son Mithridates VI., Eupator, whom historians distinguish by the title of Great. Immediately after his accession, the Romans unceremoniously took from him what they had given to his father. He was as yet too young and too weak to resent this treatment, but by a wise administration of his resources, he made preparations for the future, and extended his empire in all directions. He was indeed an Asiatic barbarian, but a man of extraordinary talent and energy of character. He had moreover received a Greek education, and knew how to win the affections of the Greeks, who in the

course of time began to look upon him as the man destined to deliver them from the detested yoke of the Romans. When he was sufficiently prepared, he began to extend his kingdom in the west, and with his well-disciplined army he had no difficulty in defeating the Romans when they ventured to oppose him. In the year B. C. 88, eighty thousand Romans residing in various parts of Asia Minor were reported to have been put to death by his command; and having made himself master of all Asia Minor, he sent Archelaus, a Greek general in his service, with a large army into Europe. The principal cities of Greece, such as Athens and Thebes, willingly opened their gates to him, in the hope that he would drive the Romans from their country.

When these things were reported at Rome, the senate, feeling that the safety of Italy itself was in danger, immediately gave the command against Mithridates to Sulla, who happened to be consul in the year B. C. 88, and who had greatly distinguished himself in the Social war. At the time when he received this commission, he was stationed at Nola in Campania, conducting the war against the Samnites. He was still the head of the aristocratic party, and Marius felt hurt at seeing his younger rival intrusted with a commission which was likely to reward a successful general with wealth and glory. P. Sulpicius, a bold tribune and friend of Marius, was prevailed upon to deprive Sulla of the command and cause it to be conferred on Marius. The plan was carried into effect by the distribution of the new citizens among the thirty-five old tribes, and thus giving them a preponderance in the assembly. Violence, however, had likewise to be resorted to. Sulla, on being informed of this, straightway hastened with his army to Rome, which, being taken by surprise, was forced to admit him; and though a desperate resistance was offered in the streets of the city, he put his enemies to flight. Sulla on this occasion behaved with exemplary moderation, for none but Marius and eleven of his most violent followers were declared outlaws. Marius himself, not without the greatest danger, escaped to Minturnæ, and thence to Africa, where for a time he lived in exile, closely watching the proceedings at home.

Sulla was obliged to remain a short time at Rome for the purpose of making such arrangements as would secure peace and tranquillity in the city during his absence in Asia. He restored as far as possible the power of the senate, and again threw back the new citizens into the position they had occupied before; he even allowed L. Cornelius Cinna, a well-known leader of the democratic party, to be elected to the

consulship for B. C. 87, along with his own friend and partisan, Cn. Octavius. After these affairs were settled, Sulla proceeded with his army to Greece. The war against the Samnites was continued in the meantime by Pompeius Rufus. As soon as Sulla appeared in Greece, Thebes and the whole of Bœotia were as ready to submit to him as they had been to admit Archelaus. But Athens held out; Archelaus was beaten in two pitched battles at Chæronea and Orchomenos; and Athens, after a protracted siege, during which the inhabitants suffered most terribly from famine, was taken and plundered, B. C. 85. Its fortifications were destroyed, its temples pillaged, and its most valued works of art were carried away by the conquerors. The only existing copy of the works of Aristotle is said to have on that occasion been brought to Rome with the library of Apellico. Sulla's conduct after the capture of Athens was characterized by such heartless cruelty that his mere name became a terror to all the Greeks. Meanwhile Mithridates himself was hard pressed in Asia by another Roman army under Fimbria; and as Archelaus, notwithstanding the reinforcements which had been sent to him, was obliged to quit Europe, the king became inclined to make peace, and ordered him to enter into negotiations. Sulla, however, being still busily engaged in punishing the Greeks who had allied themselves with Mithridates, the actual conclusion of the peace was delayed until B. C. 84, when he had an interview with the king himself in Troas in Asia. The terms he imposed upon him were exceedingly hard, for he had to give up his whole fleet and all his conquests, so that his dominions were reduced to their original boundaries. He was also bound to pay all the expenses of the war. After peace was restored, Sulla exacted enormous sums of money from the Asiatic Greeks as a punishment for their having deserted the cause of Rome, and thus inflicted upon that flourishing country a blow from which it did not recover for a long time.

2. Disturbances at Rome and Return of Sulla.—Soon after Sulla's departure from Rome, fresh disturbances had broken out, for Cinna attempted not only to abolish the regulations of Sulla and to recall those who had been outlawed, but to enrol the new citizens again among the thirty-five tribes. In the struggle with the aristocracy about these matters, he was driven out of the city and stripped of his consular dignity. He proceeded to Campania, where he assembled around him the desperadoes and revolutionists from all parts of Italy. Marius also arrived in Etruria, where his presence attracted great masses of daring robbers, slaves, and

discontented new citizens. The two leaders of the insurrection then advanced upon Rome from the north and the south. Famine and internal discord soon compelled the city to surrender, and Marius now gave full vent to his spirit of revenge against his political opponents. Accompanied by his infuriated soldiers, he patrolled the streets of Rome, and all those who were known to be favourably disposed to Sulla and the aristocratic party were put to death, without distinction of rank or age, and their bodies were left lying in the streets while their houses were plundered and devastated. Even Cinna and Sertorius were disgusted by this butchery, and in the night they surrounded and killed 4000 of the satellites of Marius. The most illustrous among the victims were Catulus, the consul Cn. Octavius, and the orator Marcus Antonius. The massacre lasted five days and five nights; and when Marius was satiated with blood, he caused himself to be elected to his seventh consulship for the year B. C. 86. But he did not live to enjoy this honour long, for he died about the middle of January. His colleague Cinna had now all political power in his hands; the Samnites, who had come to terms with the democratic leaders, had received the Roman franchise, and Sulla's friends suffered severely under the domination of their enemies. But Sulla did not return to Italy till the beginning of B. C. 83; for, with a rare feeling of patriotism, he had thought it incumbent on him to discharge his duties towards his country before attempting to avenge his private wrongs. When he appeared in Campania, the consul Cinna was murdered by his own soldiers, by which act the democratic party was deprived of its ablest leader. Sulla was victorious in every engagement, and large numbers of the soldiers opposed to him were induced to desert their standards. Marius the younger took refuge at Præneste in B. C. 82, where he was closely besieged, and at last in despair put an end to his own life. When Sulla entered Rome, a Samnite army under Pontius Telesinus was approaching in the hope of taking the city by surprise; but it was met by Sulla at the Colline gate, where a murderous battle was fought, in which the Samnites and their associates were so completely defeated that Pontius Telesinus put an end to his own existence.

3. Sulla's Tyranny and Legislation.—The battle of the Colline gate in B. C. 82 made Sulla the undisputed master of the republic, and many of his surviving enemies took to flight. A few days after his victory, he ordered 8000 prisoners to be executed in the circus while the senators were assembled in an adjoining temple, from which the cries of the wretched victims could be distinctly heard. The terror which such

scenes created silenced all opposition. The civil war had already carried off upwards of a 100,000 men; but Sulla was not yet satiated, and he now devised a measure which until then had been unheard of in the history of Rome. He drew up a list of all those whom he suspected or pretended to suspect of being his enemies. This was called a proscription: any one was at liberty to kill those whose names were in the list, and was promised a certain reward for the head of each proscribed person. Their estates were confiscated, and their descendants for ever excluded from the franchise. The scenes of horror which now followed are almost beyond description: sons murdered their fathers, and slaves their masters; no tie was sacred, for whoever protected a proscribed person incurred the same punishment as if his name had been in the list. The number of victims who perished during that fearful period is unknown. Appian speaks of 90 senators, 15 men of consular dignity, and 2600 equites; Valerius Maximus gives a total of 4700. Among those who made themselves most conspicuous as partisans of Sulla, we find the name of Catiline, the madman who subsequently formed the plan of setting the city of Rome on fire and murdering her most devoted sons.

Sulla, having thus got rid of all his enemies, manumitted ten thousand slaves, who formed his body guard under the name of the Cornelii, and then caused himself to be appointed dictator for an indefinite period. He entered upon this office about the end of B. C. 82, and began his reorganization of the state by rewarding the soldiers with whose assistance he had been raised to his present position. A large number of towns with their territories, which had been guilty of supporting his enemies, were assigned to his legions: they were called military colonies, the soldiers forming the ruling body in each; and as they were scattered all over Italy, the dictator had it in his power instantly to repress any revolutionary movement wherever it might occur. He also fortified himself in the senate by nominating to that body such men as were most likely to serve him as his tools. Having thus secured for himself perfect submission in all quarters, he proceeded to reform the constitution, which he endeavoured to make what it had been centuries before. He first reduced the power of the tribunes to what they had possessed at their institution on the Sacred Mount, thus depriving the comitia of the tribes of their most important functions. He next restored to the senate those judicial powers which had been taken from it by C. Gracchus. Lastly, he increased the number of prætors to eight, that of quæstors to twenty, and that of the pontiffs and augurs to fifteen in each col-

lege. The provinces also were not overlooked in his new regulations. But all his measures were unsuited to the spirit of the times, for what he restored consisted only of outward forms: it was in fact a body without a soul. His reforms of the criminal law, however, deserve all praise, and form an era in the history of Roman jurisprudence. When he had thus reconstructed the machinery of the state, and thought that he had restored on a permanent footing the good old times of the aristocracy, he laid down his dictatorship, B. C. 79, to the astonishment of all, and withdrew to Puteoli, where he died the next year in consequence of his debauched and voluptuous mode of life. During the time of his dictatorship, the few remnants of the party of Marius were scattered about in Sicily, Africa, and Spain, where they gathered round themselves those who had been obliged on account of their opinions to seek shelter in foreign lands. Cn. Pompey, who had distinguished himself as a partisan of the aristocracy during the social war, was sent by the dictator to Sicily and Africa, where he succeeded in crushing the leaders of the Marian party. He was then only twenty-four years old and a simple eques, but he was nevertheless honoured with a triumph and the surname of Magnus.

4. SECOND WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES.—The humiliating terms on which Mithridates had obtained peace from Sulla were a source of deep pain to him; and as the peace had never yet obtained the formal sanction of the Roman senate, Mithridates refused to evacuate Cappadocia, as he had promised to do. A war thus broke out, which lasted from B. C. 83 till 81. Archelaus, the king's general, having deserted to the Romans, prevailed upon L. Murena at once to attack the king, and not wait for a declaration of war. Murena accordingly advanced into Cappadocia and stripped the wealthy temple of Comana of its treasures. Mithridates, glad of the opportunity of recovering what had been lost, attacked and defeated Murena in the neighbourhood of Sinope. The Romans, exhausted as they were by the ravages of the civil contests in Italy, were not inclined to prosecute the war, and a peace was concluded, which left Mithridates in the possession of Cappadocia.

5. SULLA'S REFORMS ABOLISHED.—How little the institutions of Sulla had taken root became evident in the very year of his death, for the consul M. Æmilius Lepidus proposed to the assembly to rescind all the constitutional measures of Sulla. His plan was indeed frustrated by the partisans of the late dictator; but year after year similar attempts continued to be made by the tribunes, until at length, in B. C. 70, Cn.

Pompey, one of Sulla's own supporters, carried a law by which the power of the tribunes and the comitia of the tribes were restored; and Aurelius Cotta reformed the courts of law by distributing the judicial functions assigned by Sulla to the senate to courts composed of senators, equites, and tribuni ærarii. The great work of Sulla was thus undone by him whom everybody had looked upon as one of its main pillars; but Pompey was anxious for popularity, which he was determined to gain at any cost. His abilities were not indeed of the first order, but fortune seemed to favour all his undertakings, and there was something in his conduct which won for him the confidence and admiration of all classes, so that in a few years he was the most popular man in Rome.

6. Q. SERTORIUS.—About the time when the party of Marius had lost all chance of maintaining itself against its opponents, Q. Sertorius, the most upright and noble-minded among its chiefs, withdrew with his army to Spain, hoping there to be able to rally the scattered fragments of his party, and to maintain the interests of the popular cause. Hundreds flocked to him from all parts; his kindness and prudence, as well as his skill and valour as a soldier, secured to him not only the attachment of his companions in arms, but the confidence of the Spaniards. As he had no expectation, at least for the present, of gaining a footing in Italy, he attempted to establish a new republic in Spain, of which both Spaniards and Romans were to be the citizens. The new republic was constituted after the model of that of Rome; it was to be governed by two consuls and a senate of three hundred members, and all the great offices were to be filled by Romans and Spaniards indiscriminately. A kind of school or university was set up at Osca, in which the young Spaniards were to receive an education similar to that of young Romans. Sertorius was successful in all he undertook; but the Romans, perceiving the danger that was threatening them from that quarter, began a war against him in B. C. 79. For several years their efforts produced no results; and in B. C. 74, Sertorius formed the grand scheme of entering into an alliance with Mithridates, king of Pontus, whereby Rome would be placed between two enemies. This danger, however, was averted by the fickleness of the Spaniards, and the treachery of some of those Romans who were serving under the noble Sertorius. One of these latter, Perperna, on finding his own ambitious schemes thwarted, entered into a conspiracy against the great captain, and caused him to be assassinated during an entertainment at Osca, B. C. 72. Perperna, who now assumed the supreme

command in Spain, was defeated in the first engagement with a Roman army under Pompey, who made him his prisoner, and ordered him to be put to death. Spain was now again compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, and Pompey had the good fortune of destroying the last remnants of the Marian party.

7. SERVILE WAR UNDER SPARTACUS.—The treatment which the rural slave population experienced at the hands of their wealthy masters, and their great numbers in proportion to that of the free population, could not fail to produce insurrectionary movements among those who were pining in bondage. Sicily had already been twice the scene of a bloody servile war, the second of which had lasted from B. C. 102 to B. C. 99. Twenty-six years later, B. C. 73, a band of about eighty slaves, who had been trained at Capua as gladiators, under the command of one Spartacus, broke their chains. Prisons were forced open, and all the slaves in southern Italy were called upon by proclamations to assert their freedom. A body of 10,000 well armed slaves was assembled in a short time, and several consular armies, attempting to prevent their escape from Italy (for they seem at first to have intended only to make their way to their native countries) were defeated. Spartacus, emboldened by his success, now determined to act on the offensive and attack Rome itself. The slaves, without mercy, murdered every free man they met, and devastated everything that came in their path. They experienced little resistance, because the population of Southern Italy had been fearfully thinned by the social war. What they chiefly wanted was a regular military organization; without this they roamed in many parts in irregular bands over the country, and exposed themselves to the danger of being cut to pieces. It was owing to this circumstance that M. Licinius Crassus, in B. C. 71, gained a complete victory over the slaves in Lucania. Spartacus himself and many thousands of his companions were killed; and in order to strike terror into the surviving bondsmen, the bodies of the slain were left unburied, or were impaled along the high roads. One detachment of about 5000 slaves endeavoured to escape into Gaul, but was met on its road by Pompey, on his return from Spain, who thus again had the good fortune of completing what others had begun.

8. WAR AGAINST THE PIRATES.—Pompey was rewarded for his victories over Perperna and the slaves with the consulship for the year B. C. 70. It was in this year that he increased his popularity by rescinding or helping to rescind

the acts of Sulla. After the expiration of his office, he spent a few years in retirement, resting on his laurels and waiting for fresh opportunities. For many years past, all parts of the Mediterranean had been so much infested by pirates, that no merchant vessel could venture to put to sea without a strong convoy. These pirates were for the most part people who had been driven to this mode of life by necessity and poverty: but their chief haunts and rallying places were in Cilicia, on the south coast of Asia Minor. The Romans had been trying to put down piracy ever since the year B. C. 78, but without success; and not only had some of the most illustrious Romans been captured by the pirates, and had recovered their freedom only by the payment of large sums of money, but the city of Rome itself was repeatedly threatened by famine, as it was impossible to supply it with provisions from the countries beyond the seas. At length, in B. C. 67, the tribune A. Gabinius brought forward a bill proposing that Pompey should be intrusted for three years with the command against the pirates; that his powers should extend over all the coasts of the Mediterranean; and that he should be amply provided with the means necessary for his great undertaking. This proposal met with considerable opposition, it being thought dangerous to place such unprecedented powers in the hands of one man; but Pompey was the darling of the people, and he obtained all that Gabinius had asked. The confidence reposed in him was more than justified by the skill and ability with which he executed his difficult task, for in about three months he swept the pirates from every part of the Mediterranean. He began at the western extremity of the sea, and drove the robbers before him towards the coast of Cilicia, where he defeated them in a great battle. The survivors were made prisoners or surrendered, and after having destroyed their strongholds, Pompey distributed them among several towns, and provided them with the means of gaining a livelihood without returning to their evil practices. The war against the pirates is the most glorious exploit in the whole life of Pompey.

9. Third War against Mithridates.—After the conclusion of the war against the pirates, Pompey might have returned to Rome; but as his countrymen were at the time engaged in a war against Mithridates, he remained in Asia in the hope that sooner or later he might be called upon to undertake the command against the Pontic king. He also well knew that it only required a hint from him to his friends at home to obtain what he wished. At the time when Sertorius concluded the alliance with Mithridates, and stirred him

up to attack the Romans in the east, Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died, bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans. Mithridates, believing that the Romans would be sufficiently occupied in the west, not only protested against the bequest, but at once invaded Bithynia, and sent out his fleet against that of the Romans. Having been successful in a naval engagement, he proceeded to lay siege to the wealthy city of Cyzicus, which was allied with Rome. While he was thus occupied, in B. C. 73, a fresh Roman army, commanded by L. Lucullus, arrived in Asia, and succeeded in cutting off the king from all supplies of provisions. This and some other losses, unexpectedly as they came upon Mithridates, seem to have deprived him of all presence of mind, for he abandoned not only Cyzicus but his whole kingdom, and in despair fled to his son-in-law Tigranes, king of Armenia; while Lucullus, invading Pontus, compelled all the chief towns to surrender one after another. The Roman commander was detained for some time by the necessity of regulating the affairs of the newly conquered country; and when, after this, Tigranes refused to surrender his father-in-law, Lucullus, in B. C. 69, marched against Triganocerta, the capital of Armenia, and near its very gates routed a numerous army of Asiatics. Mithridates took to flight, and Tigranes, who attempted some further resistance, was beaten a second time near the town of Artaxata. While Lucullus was thus successfully pursuing his victorious career, a mutiny broke out among his soldiers, which was headed by P. Clodius, a person who subsequently made himself conspicuous by his lawless conduct at Rome. Lucullus contrived to quell the mutiny; but Mithridates, availing himself of the opportunity, effected his return to his kingdom. Lucullus indeed pursued him, but the spirit of insubordination in his army prevented him from accomplishing his object. Meantime the Roman senate began to feel discontented with the manner in which the war was carried on, and in B. C. 67, sent M'. Acilius Glabrio to supersede Lucullus in the command against Mithridates. The new general, having no other object than to enrich himself, allowed the advantages gained by his predecessor to slip out of his hands, and Mithridates without much difficulty re-established himself in his former dominions. Lucullus, having amassed enormous wealth in the east, spent the remainder of his life in Italy in ease and luxury.

The time had now come when the state of affairs in Asia gave the friends of Pompey a favourable opportunity of calling in his aid to bring the war against Mithridates to a

close. The tribune Manilius was prevailed upon, in B. C. 66, to bring forward a bill to transfer the command of the forces in the east to Pompey, and to increase the powers with which he was already invested. This proposition, though opposed by some men of influence, was strongly supported by Julius Cæsar and Cicero, and was carried. Pompey was supplied with fresh reinforcements, and with his usual quickness attacked Mithridates on the banks of the Euphrates. The king was defeated and took to flight. Pompey pursued him, and victoriously traversed the countries about Mount Caucasus, which had never yet seen a Roman army, until the difficulties he had to encounter in those wild and unknown regions induced him to give up the pursuit. Mithridates, whose possessions extended to the east and north of the Black Sea, now resolved to form an alliance with the Scythians, and in conjunction with them to invade Italy from the north. But in the midst of these vast plans, his own son Pharnaces put himself at the head of an insurrection of the soldiers; and Mithridates, finding that his life was not safe, took poison, which he was in the habit of carrying about with him. This happened in B. C. 63. The body of the king was brought to Pompey, who indeed ordered it to be buried with regal magnificence, but at the same time rewarded the unworthy son with the kingdom of Bosporus, that is, the countries around the Cimmerian Bosporus.

After having settled the affairs in the extreme east of Asia Minor, Pompey returned westwards, determining in what way each of the countries was to be governed: some, such as Syria, whose king was deposed, Phœnicia, and a portion of Pontus, were made Roman provinces; while others, such as Paphlagonia, Galatia, and the north of Pontus, were left under the government of vassal kings recognising the supremacy of Rome. In Judea, Pompey had to settle a dispute between the brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus: he appointed the former to the office of tetrarch, and took the latter with him to Rome as a prisoner. When the forms of government had thus been reorganized by Pompey in a manner which must have appeared most arbitrary to every Roman, he returned to Italy, where he arrived about the beginning of the year B. C. 61. He celebrated a most splendid triumph, and the treasury was enormously enriched with the sums he brought from Asia. The Romans of all classes treated him with the utmost deference, and his popularity had now reached its greatest height. His conduct, however, was of the most unassuming kind, for he was anxious to impress the people with the idea that he de-

sired nothing more than to be a simple citizen of Rome. But it soon became evident that his real feelings were of a very different nature, for when he found that the arbitrary arrangements which he had made in Asia were attacked by men of the greatest authority, and that the senate refused to sanction them, he could no longer conceal how deeply his vanity was wounded. He had hitherto been a stanch supporter of the optimates, and now gave vent to his feelings of mortification by joining the popular party—a step which was the cause of all his subsequent misfortunes.

10. CICERO'S CONSULSHIP.—Two years before Pompey's return to Italy, M. Tullius Cicero had been invested with the consulship, and during the year of his office had rendered to the state such important services that he was honoured by the senate with the title of *pater patriæ*, or father of his country. He was born in B. C. 106, at Arpinum, and having been brought to Rome at an early age, he had so much distinguished himself by his talent, patriotism, honesty, and even courage, that, although he was a *novus homo*, he obtained, one after another, the highest offices of the state, and was raised to the consulship for the year B. C. 63. He was the greatest orator that Rome had yet seen, and his distinguishing feature as a statesman was a genuine love of his country, which never forsook him. He was indeed not free from weaknesses, but it is he himself who has given us his portrait in his works more faithfully than any other man in antiquity, and we ought to be careful not to judge him too harshly. During the year of his consulship, Catiline, a profligate patrician overwhelmed with debts, formed a conspiracy in which he was joined by a number of desperadoes of the same rank as himself. All of them had by their own reckless extravagances and vices been reduced to such extremities that they saw no help for themselves except in a revolution. They accordingly planned to murder Cicero, to set the city on fire, to overthrow the constitution, and to raise themselves upon the ruins of their country. But Cicero, who knew Catiline well, watched all his proceedings with the utmost vigilance, and when he had obtained sufficient evidence, boldly attacked him in the senate, and by his powerful eloquence drove the conspirator out of the city. Cicero's four speeches against Catiline, which are still extant, are noble specimens of manly courage and spirited eloquence. The senate, on the proposal of Cicero and Cato, condemned Catiline and those of his associates who were imprisoned at Rome to death, and the latter were accordingly strangled in their dungeon. Catiline himself, who had escaped with a numerous band of

followers to the north of Etruria, rallied round him a considerable army of abandoned Romans, and fought a pitched battle in the neighbourhood of Pistoria, in which, he himself and most of his companions were killed, sword in hand. Cicero for a time enjoyed the greatest happiness, for he was conscious, that had it not been for his watchful care, the city of Rome would have been changed into a heap of ruins; but this happiness was of brief duration, as there still existed at Rome many who had secretly encouraged Catiline, and who were now only waiting for an opportunity of destroying the man who had thwarted all their schemes.

11. CÆSAR AND HIS CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL.—The time of which we are now speaking is perhaps the richest of all Roman history in men of talent and ability; the misfortune only was, that they did not devote themselves to the good of the community, but each endeavoured to gain for himself as much as he could, regardless of the public welfare. By far the greatest and most gifted among these men was C. Julius Cæsar, who was five years younger than Cicero, and rapidly rising in popular favour, while Pompey was enjoying the fruits of his previous victories. Cæsar, like most of his contemporaries, was not much concerned about the means he employed to gain his end; his gigantic mental powers and unwearied activity enabling him to surmount every obstacle. There was no one that could be compared to him in versatility of mind, extent of knowledge, and genius both as a general and a statesman. Julia, an aunt of his, had been married to Marius, for whom he seems always to have entertained a strong affection. Sulla's penetrating eye discerned Cæsar's greatness even when he was quite a young man, and if he had not withdrawn from Rome during Sulla's dictatorship, he would probably have fallen one of the many victims of that relentless tyrant. In the year B. C. 65, he boldly came forward as the admirer of the late Marius, and the champion of the popular party. His prodigality knew no bounds, and he was soon overwhelmed with debts; but a successful campaign against some revolted tribes in Spain, in B. C. 61, enabled him to amass more money than he required to satisfy his creditors. The manner in which he conducted his operations in that country showed him to be a military genius of the first order. When he had obtained the consulship for B. C. 59, he entered into a close alliance with Pompey, who had just then renounced his connexion with the optimates. He also effected a reconciliation between Pompey and Crassus; and these three men, who were now virtually the rulers of the republic, came to an agreement

that no public measure should be allowed to pass which was distasteful to any one of them. Cæsar at length prevailed upon the senate to sanction the regulations made by Pompey in Asia, and carried several extremely popular measures, such as an agrarian law, by which no less than 20,000 Romans received assignments of land. After having thus strengthened himself and formed a powerful party in the republic, he caused Gaul, both on the north and on the south of the Alps, together with Illyricum, to be assigned to himself as his province. According to the usual custom, he ought to have set out to his province immediately after the expiration of his consulship; but as he had been offended by Cicero, he remained with his army in the neighbourhood of Rome to support the notorious P. Clodius. The latter, who had some time before committed an act of sacrilege, and had been strongly attacked for that and other offences by Cicero, vowed not to leave any means untried to take vengeance upon the orator. As he belonged to a patrician family, he caused himself to be adopted by a plebeian, in order to be enabled to stand as a candidate for the tribuneship. The plan succeeded, and by the aid of Cæsar, he obtained the desired office for the year B. C. 58. He first proposed a series of popular measures; and when he felt himself strong enough in the favour of the people, he brought forward a bill enacting that any one who had put to death a Roman citizen without a formal trial should be declared an outlaw. The bill was evidently aimed at Cicero, though his name was not mentioned; and as the latter had no hope of being protected by any of the leading men, he went into exile in order to escape condemnation. When he was gone, he was publicly proclaimed an outlaw, his house was set on fire, and two of his country villas were destroyed. These and other atrocious measures of the tribune called forth severe attacks from some of the more moderate men of the time. One of them was Cato, who had supported Cicero in the transactions against Catiline; but Clodius got rid of this troublesome opponent by causing him to be appointed to some office in a distant province. The conduct of Clodius was such, that, as soon as the year of his tribuneship came to a close, a reaction at once took place in the public mind, in consequence of which Cicero was triumphantly recalled from his exile.

Cæsar did not proceed to his province of Gaul until the end of April, B. C. 58. The administration of that country had been assigned to him for five years, but a few years later his friends Pompey and Crassus passed a decree by which the period of five years was to be increased to ten, while Pompey

obtained for himself the province of Spain, and Crassus that of Syria. Pompey, however, leaving the administration of his province to his lieutenants, remained at Rome, and was practically sole ruler of the republic. Crassus, on the other hand, though advanced in years, was unable to resist the temptation to go in person to the wealthy province of Syria, where he was sure of finding ample opportunities of satisfying his insatiable avarice. Syria happened at that time to be threatened by an invasion of the Parthians, who had formed a powerful empire on the east of the Euphrates, and looked upon themselves as the successors of the ancient Persians. Crassus resolved to undertake an expedition against them, and, guided by a faithless Arab, boldly crossed the Euphrates. He was met and defeated by the enemy in the desert near Carrhæ, he himself being taken prisoner and put to death. His army was nearly annihilated, and all the Roman standards fell into the hands of the conquerors, B. C. 53.

The whole of the Roman government was now divided between Cæsar and Pompey, and it was evident that things must soon come to a crisis as to which of the two was to be the master of the world. At the time when Cæsar undertook the administration of Gaul, only the southern part belonged to the Roman republic, and constituted what was called the Province, and is still known as Provence. The rest of Gaul, which was inhabited by Celtic, Iberian, and German tribes, was as yet entirely free; but Cæsar had formed a plan of subduing the whole country, and a welcome pretext was afforded to him by the migration of the Helvetii and the invasion of Gaul by German tribes under Ariovistus. The Helvetii had been tempted to abandon their own mountainous country and seek new homes in the southern and western parts of Gaul. As the safety of the Roman province was thus threatened by the wandering hosts of this Alpine people, Cæsar at once attacked them, and in two battles defeated them so completely that they were obliged to return to their own devastated country; for, before leaving it, they had destroyed everything in order effectually to extinguish the desire of ever going back. Among the numerous tribes in the interior of Gaul, one seems always to have exercised a kind of supremacy over the rest, and this had excited a feeling of jealousy between two of them—the Sequani and Ædui. Some years before Cæsar's arrival, a host of Germans, under their chief Ariovistus, had been invited by the Sequani to assist them against the Ædui. The latter had been repeatedly defeated by the Germans, who in the end had even com-

pelled the Sequani to cede to them a portion of their territory. The Ædui now solicited the aid of Cæsar against the foreign invaders, and in a great battle near Vesontio he gained a decisive victory over Ariovistus, who was thus compelled to retreat with the remainder of his army across the Rhine. His success in the south-east of Gaul alarmed the Belgæ in the north; and in order the more effectually to resist the encroachments of the Romans, they formed a confederacy, intending with their united forces to attack the common enemy. But Cæsar contrived to prevent their union, and overpowered the different Belgian tribes one after another. This happened in B. C. 57, and in the following year he subdued the tribes in the north-west of Gaul. About this time, two German tribes, the Usipetes and Tenchteri, had crossed the lower Rhine with the intention of establishing themselves in Gaul. Cæsar, pretending to enter into negotiations with them, caused their leaders to lay down their arms; but the confiding barbarians were surrounded by the Romans and treacherously murdered. With the view of striking terror into the Germans, who about this period attempted to cross the Rhine at various points, he marched into their territory by a wooden bridge thrown with remarkable skill across that wide and rapid stream. After having ravaged the country, which he found covered with thick forests, he returned without effecting anything of importance, cutting the bridge down behind him.

In the same summer, B. C. 55, he undertook an expedition into Britain. Notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the natives, he effected a landing on the coast of Kent. Some of the Britons submitted to the invaders, but on learning that the Roman fleet had sustained serious losses at sea, they again took up arms. The well-disciplined troops of Cæsar, however, defeated the barbarians, who got rid of the invaders only by the lateness of the season, Cæsar not daring to remain longer in an unknown country beyond the sea. In the following year he invaded Britain a second time, and notwithstanding the courage displayed by the natives and their chief Cassivelaunus, they were defeated in several engagements, and the Romans became masters of the greater part of Essex and Middlesex. Cæsar, who had undertaken this expedition apparently for no other purpose than to do something which no one else had ventured upon before him, concluded peace with the Britons on condition of their giving him hostages, and promising to pay an annual tribute to Rome. But as he was unable to leave any troops in the island, the promises made to him were soon forgotten, and Britain

remained as free as it had been before. In B. C. 53, several of the Gallic tribes again attempted to form a league to recover their independence, and were supported by some German tribes which had arrived in Gaul. Cæsar first marched against the Germans, and again crossed the Rhine in pursuit of them; but the nature of the country rendered it unsafe for him to penetrate very far. On his return, he proceeded against the revolted Gallic tribes, and punished their leaders in a most cruel manner. The exasperation which this conduct produced soon set the whole country in a blaze, and even the Ædui, who had hitherto been steady friends of the Romans, joined the insurgents. The illustrious Arvernian Vercingetorix was the leader of the movement, and the war threatened to become more formidable than any in which Cæsar had yet been engaged. The Gallic chief after various enterprises threw himself into the strong fortress of Alesia, where he was besieged by Cæsar, who himself was surrounded on all sides by enemies. But his genius again overcame every difficulty, and in B. C. 52, Alesia was compelled by famine to surrender. This event virtually decided the fate of Gaul, for the tribes which were still in arms were easily subdued. In B. C. 51, the Belgæ once more rose to defend their liberty, but it was too late; and Cæsar, having subdued the Helvetii, the Gauls, and the Belgæ, returned in B. C. 50 to Cisalpine Gaul, leaving the greater part of his army in the country he had just subjugated.

The conquest of Gaul, and the brilliant exploits by which it had been accomplished, filled both his soldiers and the Romans at home with the greatest admiration of his genius and skill. Until the year B. C. 54, the relation between Pompey and Cæsar, at least outwardly, had been one of friendship, and Pompey was married to Cæsar's daughter Julia; but her death in the above-mentioned year removed the tie which until then had united the two rivals. During his absence in Gaul, Cæsar had kept up a most active correspondence with his friends at Rome; he had sent them enormous sums of money, and the lawless manner in which they conducted themselves began to fill the senate with apprehensions as to what would be the consequence if Cæsar returned. Pompey also had not been inactive, and on one occasion had unconstitutionally caused himself to be elected sole consul. The optimates, in their fear of Cæsar, again began to look upon Pompey as their only protector against the dreaded leader of the popular party; no opportunity was lost of doing and saying things to hurt the feelings of Cæsar; and in B. C. 51 Claudius Marcellus went so far as to propose that he should

be recalled from Gaul and a successor appointed. This plan was thwarted by the ample bribes which Cæsar sent to Rome; but soon after, the senate passed a decree that Cæsar, although his proconsulship had not yet expired, should disband his army by a certain day, and that he should be declared a public enemy if he refused to obey. Two tribunes, Antony and Q. Cassius, who in vain opposed the decree, and demanded that Pompey should likewise disband his armies, now fled to the camp of Cæsar in Cisalpine Gaul, and solemnly called upon him to support the tribunician power which had been violated by his opponents. This was the decisive moment, and a struggle was about to commence which was to place Cæsar at the head of the Roman republic.

EXERCISES.

1. Mention the causes of the first Mithridatic war. How did it begin? Who was the general of Mithridates? Who was sent against him? How did Marius oppose his nomination? State the particulars of Sulla's campaign in Greece. What terms did he impose on Mithridates?

2. State what occurred in Rome after Sulla's departure. Who were the most illustrious victims of the Marian massacres? How were some of the murderers punished? What was the end of Marius? When did Sulla return, and what were his first measures?

3. How did Sulla signalize his victory? How many men had perished in the civil war? What is meant by "proscription?" State the number of the victims. Give the particulars of Sulla's political reorganization. When and where did he die? What new man was rising to eminence, and by what exploits?

4. Cause of the second Mithridatic war. Who was the Roman general, and what did he do? Mention the terms of peace?

5. What became of Sulla's reforms? What was the character of Pompey?

6. Who was Sertorius? Where did he find a refuge? Describe his plans. What was their success? What became of Sertorius?

7. Describe the causes of the Servile war. By whom was it headed? Describe its course and end.

8. Where was Pompey, and what was he doing? Who were the pirates? What is said of their power? Who was sent against them? State the result.

9. Causes of the third Mithridatic war. What general was sent against Mithridates? Describe the campaign. What checked the victories of Lucullus? By whom was he succeeded? Describe Pompey's campaign. What became of Mithridates? How was Asia settled? How was Pompey treated on his return to Rome? What was his character, and how did he change?

10. Give a biographical sketch of Cicero. Describe his character. What desperado threatened ruin to the state? Give a history of the conspiracy. What became of Catiline and his companions?

11. Describe Cæsar's character and early career. Who formed the first triumvirate? What popular measures did Cæsar carry? What is said of Clodius? How did Cicero escape the blow aimed at him? De-

scribe the Syrian campaign of Crassus. When did Cæsar go to Gaul? By whom was it inhabited? What tribe did he first attack? and state the result. Give the history of the war with Ariovistus. Narrate Cæsar's German campaign. Give a sketch of the two invasions of Britain. What struggle decided the fate of Gaul? What removed the tie connecting Cæsar and Pompey? What did Marcellus propose? Who opposed the decree, and how did they act?

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN CÆSAR AND POMPEY TO THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM, B. C. 49—B. C. 31.

War between Cæsar and Pompey—Cæsar's Wars in Africa and Spain—The War of Mutina and the Triumvirate—War against Brutus and Cassius—The Wars against Perusia and Sextus Pompeius—M. Antony and the War of Actium.

1. WAR BETWEEN CÆSAR AND POMPEY.—Although Pompey and his party had done everything to irritate and provoke Cæsar, they had also neglected everything from an overweening confidence in their own strength, and when the hour of trial came it found them unprepared. When the two tribunes appeared before Cæsar in B. C. 49, he hesitated for a moment, but after some reflection, exclaimed, "The die is cast!" and forthwith crossed the river Rubicon, which formed the boundary between his own province and Italy. At the same time he sent orders to his legions beyond the Alps to follow him without delay, and with his small band of faithful and attached veterans he rapidly marched southward in order to prevent his enemies completing their preparations. As he advanced, all the towns threw their gates open, for his kindness and affability had won for him every heart. Pompey, discovering his own helpless condition when it was too late, fled from Rome to Brundusium, whither he was accompanied by many senators, numbers of the optimates, and an army consisting for the most part of undisciplined recruits. On Cæsar's approach to this place, he hastily crossed over with his retinue into Epirus. Not long before this wretched exhibition, he had boasted that he had only to stamp the ground with his foot to call forth legions; but the emptiness of the vaunt was now but too apparent. As Cæsar had no fleet at his command, he was unable to pursue his enemy; and as all Italy declared in his favour, he went back to Rome, where the remaining friends of Pompey were trembling for their lives. On his arrival

there, he acted indeed with the greatest clemency and moderation, but at the same time did not hesitate to show that he regarded himself as the real head of the republic. Having taken possession of the treasury, he hastened without delay to Spain, to attack Afranius and Petreius, Pompey's lieutenants. He there again showed his extraordinary genius as a commander: his movements were conducted with the most astonishing rapidity, and he soon drove his antagonists into such positions that, being deserted by most of their own troops, they were compelled to surrender. Afranius and Petreius were dismissed unhurt, and the remains of their armies disbanded. The city Massilia, wishing to remain neutral, had been besieged during his absence in Spain, and was now taken by the besiegers under the command of Cæsar himself, who again showed his kind disposition by treating the inhabitants with great mildness.

While Cæsar was engaged in Spain, Sicily had been taken possession of by his friends, and an attempt, though unsuccessful, was also made to drive the adherents of Pompey from Africa. Shortly before the capture of Massilia, Cæsar was appointed dictator, and in this capacity he now returned to Rome. But in order to remove all apprehensions, he caused himself to be elected to the republican office of consul for the year B. C. 48, and then laid down the dictatorship. His stay at Rome was indeed very brief, but he nevertheless made several enactments calculated to maintain order and tranquillity in the city: he restored many exiles, gave back the franchise to the children of those who had been proscribed by Sulla, conferred the rights of citizenship on many of the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul, and relieved numerous debtors by cancelling their liabilities. As soon as he had completed all the necessary preparations, he crossed the Adriatic from Brundusium in pursuit of Pompey. The latter had made good use of the respite allowed him by Cæsar, for he had collected troops, ships, and supplies from all quarters, and in point of numbers was now superior to his antagonist. Cæsar laid siege to Dyrrhachium, into which Pompey had thrown himself; but his sufferings were so great and his success so small that he abandoned the undertaking, and boldly marched across the mountains into Thessaly, with the view of transferring the war to a different scene. Pompey, imagining that his enemy had taken to flight, recovered his former confidence, and followed him in all haste in the hope of destroying him at one blow. The two armies met at Pharsalia in Thessaly, and Pompey, goaded on by his haughty but inexperienced followers, ven-

tured upon a decisive battle, B. C. 48. The result was fatal to his hopes; his army, though twice as numerous as that of his enemy, was completely defeated, and his camp with all its treasures and luxuries fell into the hands of Cæsar. The blow which Pompey had intended for Cæsar thus fell upon his own head, and having lost all means of further resistance, he fled to Egypt, where he had reason to expect a hospitable reception. But the young king, Ptolemy Dionysius, thinking that he would thereby ingratiate himself with Cæsar, gave orders to murder Pompey while he was approaching the coast in a boat.

A few days later, Cæsar himself arrived with a small force in Egypt, and the fate of his late rival is said to have brought tears into his eyes. The young king of Egypt did not receive the reward he had expected; for Cæsar, when called upon to decide as to whether he or his sister Cleopatra should rule over Egypt, declared in favour of the latter. This decision so much exasperated the unsuccessful claimant of the throne and his partisans at Alexandria, that they took up arms against Cæsar. The war in which he was thus involved placed him in great danger and difficulties, as he was accompanied by only a small portion of his forces; but with his usual skill and vigilance, he maintained himself in the royal palace against the infuriated populace of Alexandria, and when the building was set on fire, he saved himself by swimming to a ship lying at anchor at some distance from the coast. Soon after this, however, other detachments of his army arrived, and being thus strengthened he forced Alexandria to surrender, and the young king having in the meantime been drowned in the Nile, Cleopatra was firmly established on her throne. Cæsar remained with her for several months, during which the fascinating queen seems to have charmed him so much that he forgot all the world around him. At length, however, he was roused to fresh activity by the intelligence that Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, had invaded Asia Minor and defeated a Roman army. In the spring of B. C. 47, he rapidly marched through Syria and Pontus, and in a great battle near Zela defeated the army of Pharnaces, who was afterwards murdered by his own subjects. The victory of Zela is celebrated in history on account of the laconic despatch which Cæsar sent to Rome,—*Veni, vidi, vici;* that is, I came, I saw, I conquered.

2. CÆSAR'S WARS IN AFRICA AND SPAIN.—In the autumn of the year in which he had gained the victory at Zela, Cæsar hastened back to Rome, having been informed that disturbances had broken out. His success in the war against Pompey

had filled all Rome with the greatest enthusiasm; both the senate and the people vied with each other in conferring upon him such powers and distinctions as made him virtually the sovereign of the Roman state. At the same time, however, quarrels had arisen between his friends M. Antony and Dolabella, the profligate son-in-law of Cicero, and had led to bloody riots in the city itself. Cæsar did everything he could to restore peace, and reward his friends, by increasing the number of prætors, quæstors, ædiles, augurs, and pontiffs, and by making liberal promises to his soldiers; for being well aware that during his absence in the east the partisans of Pompey had mustered in great numbers in Africa, and were supported by Juba, king of Numidia, he was anxious to direct all his energies against them. Accordingly, towards the end of B. C. 47, he set out for Africa, and in the year following fought the bloody and decisive battle of Thapsus, in which the Pompeian party was completely crushed. No less than 50,000 of his enemies are said to have been killed, and many of the survivors put an end to their existence in despair. Among these latter we may mention Juba, whose kingdom became a Roman province; Metellus Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law; and Cato, surnamed Uticensis, from Utica the place where he killed himself. The two sons of Pompey, however, Cneius and Sextus, escaped into Spain, where soon afterwards they renewed the war against the conqueror of their father. On his return to Rome, the greatest apprehensions again prevailed as to the use which he might make of his position; but all fears were allayed by the proclamation of a general amnesty, and by the assurance that Cæsar's only object was to restore peace and order. He then celebrated four triumphs at once for his victories over Gaul, Egypt, Pharnaces, and Juba, carefully avoiding everything that would recall the memory of Pharsalia and Thapsus. He also entertained the populace with every kind of games and amusements. The remainder of the year B. C. 46 he spent at Rome, devoting his time to various reforms, one of which was that of the calendar, which, owing to the caprice or ignorance of the pontiffs, had fallen into such a state of confusion that it was three months in advance of the real time. Cæsar not only remedied the actual evil, but devised means to prevent its recurrence; and while he was thus usefully employed at home, he received information that all the southern parts of Spain were in a state of insurrection, and that the sons of Pompey were again at the head of an army. In order to crush the last remnant of the Pompeian party, he marched into Spain even

before the end of the year B. C. 46. The struggle he had to encounter was a desperate one, for his enemies knew that everything depended upon it. Cæsar had to contend with enormous difficulties, and nothing but his genius and valour could have saved him. At last, early in B. C. 45, a fearful battle was fought near Munda, in which the Pompeian party was annihilated for ever. Cneius Pompey was slain while attempting to escape; but his brother Sextus saved himself, and for some time led the life of a highway robber and pirate chief, until many years later he became involved in a war with Octavianus, and perished miserably by the hand of a murderer.

3. CÆSAR'S DICTATORSHIP AND DEATH.—Cæsar now returned to Rome as the sole master of the Roman world. He was received by the senate with the most abject adulation and servility, and honours and distinctions were showered upon him. He was called the father of his country; the month of Quinctilis in which he was born was called Julius; the offices with which he had been successively invested were conferred on him for life; and he received also the title of imperator, the consulship for ten years, and the dictatorship for life. These and numerous other powers made him virtually the sovereign of the Roman empire, and nothing was wanting but the outward signs and the title. Possessing the substance of power, he allowed the old forms of the republic to be observed, for the purpose of allaying the fears of those who still clung to the ancient institutions. He did much to silence opposition, by conferring the dignity of senator on many who appeared discontented, by increasing the number of that august body, and by distributing lands among his soldiers. In the government of the republic he displayed the utmost care and wisdom: he improved the laws and their administration, encouraged commerce and agriculture, embellished the city with temples, theatres, and other public buildings, and benefited Italy by the construction of roads, canals, and harbours. But notwithstanding all this, the people felt that freedom was gone, and it was but too evident that his ultimate object was to assume the title of king. The lessons taught by the perpetual civil broils of the last century were lost upon some of the more ardent and enthusiastic minds, who still entertained the belief that it was possible to save and maintain the republic. There were others also, who, though highly honoured and distinguished by the dictator, yet imagined themselves slighted and neglected, and were maturing treacherous schemes against his life. The friends of the

republic at last made common cause with his personal enemies; and in the beginning of the year B. C. 44, a conspiracy was formed, which was headed by M. Junius Brutus, an enthusiastic republican, and C. Cassius, who was actuated by nothing but a spirit of revenge. Both men, although they had been partizans of Pompey, had been raised by Cæsar to high honours, and been treated by him with the greatest kindness and confidence; but all this was forgotten, and under the pretext of liberating their country from a tyrant they secretly formed a plan for murdering their benefactor. Cæsar had summoned the senate to meet on the 15th of March in the curia of Pompey, where, among other things, a proposal was to be made that he should undertake a war against the Parthians under the title of king, which, however, he was not to assume in Italy. That day was fixed upon by the conspirators for carrying out their design. When Cæsar appeared in the senate house, he was attacked by his enemies: at first he attempted to defend himself, but perceiving among the conspirators Brutus, whom he had loved as tenderly as a son, he exclaimed, "And you, too, Brutus?" wrapped himself up in his toga, and, overwhelmed with the daggers of his assailants, sank at the base of Pompey's statue. It has been truly said that the murder of Cæsar was the most foolish act ever committed by the Romans: he had both the will and the power to save Rome from the miseries of civil bloodshed, and if he had been permitted to carry out what he had begun, Rome might have escaped from some of the most fearful horrors which disgrace her history during the eventful years which now followed.

4. The War of Mutina and the Triumvirate.—The conspirators, in their eagerness to get rid of the tyrant, had altogether forgotten to determine what to do next: they expected that their deed would be hailed with joy by all classes, and now found themselves sadly disappointed on perceiving that the little enthusiasm called forth by the murder of the dictator was utterly dispelled by the funeral oration delivered by M. Antony upon his late friend. He eloquently extolled his merits as a commander, a statesman, and a citizen, and dwelt upon the liberal sums he had bequeathed in his will to the people. This speech produced such excitement among the audience that the murderers thought it necessary to take to flight. Brutus and Cassius went to their provinces in the east, which had been assigned to them during the lifetime of Cæsar, and Decimus Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul, which province Antony shortly after caused to be assigned to himself. D. Brutus took up his head-quarters in the town of Mutina, and

thither Antony proceeded to expel him by force of arms. Meantime, C. Octavius, the adopted son of Cæsar, and hence called C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus, had arrived in Italy from Apollonia, where he had been pursuing his studies. He was then only nineteen years old, and Cicero looked upon him as a young man of the very greatest promise. The senate was prevailed upon by the great orator to confer upon Octavianus the office of prætor. Cicero's stirring eloquence had laid open the shameless conduct of Antony, and caused him to be declared a public enemy. The consuls of the year B. C. 43, Hirtius and Pansa, being commissioned to proceed against Antony, were accompanied by Octavianus, who had been joined by many of Antony's veterans, and was now generally looked upon as the natural avenger of the late dictator. During this war of Mutina, Antony was defeated, and sought refuge with Lepidus, the governor of Transalpine Gaul. The consuls Hirtius and Pansa were killed, and the senate, passing over Octavianus, now gave the command against Antony to Decimus Brutus. Octavianus, greatly annoyed at this slight, hastened with his army to Rome, and by its means was raised to the consulship. A decree was then passed outlawing all Cæsar's murderers; in consequence of which, D. Brutus was obliged to take to flight, but was murdered at Aquileia. Antony and Lepidus were allowed to return to Italy, and at a conference between them and Octavianus in the neighbourhood of Bononia, these three men formed the celebrated triumvirate under the title of *Triumviri Rei Publicæ Constituendæ*, and distributed the provinces among themselves, Octavianus obtaining Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia; Antony, Gaul; and Lepidus, Spain; Antony and Octavianus at the same time promising to undertake the war against Brutus and Cassius. After the settlement of these matters, the triumvirs agreed to draw up a proscription list, in which each of them put down the names of those whom he hated or feared most. This proscription, unlike that of Sulla, which had been dictated by political passion and animosity, was in reality not so much aimed at the political adversaries of the triumvirs as against all wealthy persons, whose riches were very often the sole reason why their names appeared among the proscribed. Accompanied by their armies, the triumvirs now entered the city of Rome, and by intimidation compelled the people to sanction what they had done. The rapacious soldiers were then let loose, with full powers to slay those whom the triumvirs had singled out as their victims. The terrible days of Marius and Sulla were revived. All the bad passions of human nature were unchained,

and, as in the case of the former proscriptions, it was easy to put down a name on the bloody list, or hide the body of a murdered enemy among the corpses of the proscribed. A human head was brought to Antony: "I know it not," he said, "take it to my wife." It was that of a private person who had refused to sell Fulvia one of his villas. A lady, desiring to marry a friend of Antony, got her husband's name inserted in the dreadful roll, and herself betrayed him to his murderers. A son who had made known the retreat of his father was rewarded with the ædileship. C. Toranius begged his assassins to grant him a few minutes' delay, that he might send his son to intercede with Antony: they told him that it was his own son who had begged for his death. But this gloomy picture had its reverse. Varro was saved by his friends, others were preserved by their slaves. Appius, for rescuing his father, was afterwards rewarded with the ædileship. The sister of L. Cæsar rushed in front of the murderers, exclaiming, "You shall not kill him until you have slain me, the mother of your general!" He had time to escape and conceal himself. No less than 2000 equites and 300 senators were slaughtered: all those who had the means of escaping fled to Brutus and Cassius, while others joined Sextus Pompey, who had in the meantime succeeded in establishing himself in Sicily. The most illustrious among the victims of those terrible days was the orator Cicero, who fell on the 7th of December, B. C. 43. His name had been selected by Antony, whose evil deeds had been most unsparingly exposed by the orator.

5. War against Brutus and Cassius.—After the triumvirs had satisfied their thirst for blood and money, Octavianus and Antony proceeded to the east against Brutus and Cassius. The former after quitting Italy had gone to his province of Macedonia, where he was received as the legitimate governor, and where in a short time he completed his preparations for a conflict with his enemies. Cassius had been equally active in Asia, and in point of fact all the eastern countries were in the hands of the republicans. The two chiefs met at Sardis, and concerted plans of uniting their strength against the common foe. They did not, however, anticipate that their enemies would be so quick in their movements as they actually were, and accordingly lost much valuable time in preparation. Octavianus and Antony had already secured the interest of the Greeks, and were encamped near the town of Philippi in Thrace. During the first engagement, Antony compelled Cassius to retreat, but Brutus repulsed the army of Octavianus, who himself is said to have been disabled by illness from tak-

ing part in the fight. Cassius, however, being erroneously led into the belief that Brutus was defeated, was seized with despair and threw himself upon his own sword. Twenty days later, a second battle was fought, in which Brutus, on perceiving that his legions were giving way, likewise put an end to his life. Many enthusiastic republicans followed his example, and others fled to Sextus Pompey in Sicily; but the great body of the soldiers surrendered to the triumvirs. These two battles, the last efforts made by the republican party, were fought in the autumn of the year B. C. 43.

6. THE WAR OF PERUSIA AND THAT AGAINST SEXTUS POMPEY.—After this victory, the triumvirs made a fresh distribution of the provinces, in which Lepidus received Africa, and Antony the provinces of the east; Octavianus was to return to Italy to reward his soldiers for their services by assignments of land and the establishment of military colonies. Antony, who remained in the east, completely forgot his character as a Roman, abandoning himself to the vices and luxuries of an eastern despot. Enormous sums of money were extorted from the provincials because they had espoused the cause of the republicans, and most of the treasures thus amassed were lavished upon Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who by her personal charms and intrigues kept the voluptuous Roman almost as a prisoner at her court. His wife Fulvia, being passionately fond of him, left no means untried to effect his return to Italy, and to gain this end even stirred up a civil war. She and L. Antonius, her brother-in-law, came forward as the champions of those multitudes, who, in consequence of the establishment of military colonies, had been driven from their homes, and were living in misery and wretchedness. They raised their standards in the town of Perusia near Lake Trasimenus, where they soon found themselves at the head of a host of impoverished people from all parts of Italy. Octavianus naturally looked upon them as rebels, and besieged them with a numerous army. The siege lasted for a considerable time; and when at length the inhabitants were suffering severely from famine, L. Antonius, despairing of success, capitulated, and obtained for Fulvia permission to quit Italy. On this occasion, Octavianus again gave evidence of his cruel disposition, for he ordered all the senators of the town to be put to death; and on the anniversary of Cæsar's murder in B. C. 40, he had upwards of 300 of the noblest Perusians butchered at the altar of Julius Cæsar. Fulvia went to Greece in the hope of inducing her husband to return, but died soon after at Sicyon.

The brief Perusian war led to a protracted struggle against Sextus Pompey, and almost realized the ardent desires of Fulvia; for her husband had actually advanced with a fleet to Brundusium, and secured the co-operation of Sextus Pompey. A reconciliation, however, was brought about between the two triumvirs, in which Antony sacrificed his late ally by allowing him to be declared a public enemy. Sextus Pompey, who had before this infested the Mediterranean as the chief of a band of pirates, now continued his practices with redoubled vigour, and rendered it almost impossible to introduce any provisions from abroad into Italy. Want and scarcity were the consequence, and the famishing people of Rome became clamorous, and demanded of the triumvirs to come to terms with Sextus Pompey. A peace was therefore concluded in B. C. 39, at Misenum, in which Sextus Pompey was recognised as the lawful governor of Sicily and some eastern provinces. Antony married Octavia, the sister of Octavianus, with whom for a time he lived in quiet retirement in Greece. Sextus Pompey, who could not forget the treacherous manner in which he had been treated by Antony, still indulged in occasional piratical expeditions; and Octavianus, desirous of an opportunity to crush him, declared war against him in B. C. 38. During the first two years the triumvir was unable to gain any decisive victory; but in B. C. 36, Agrippa being appointed commander of the fleet, and supported by the naval forces of Antony and Lepidus, blockaded Sicily, and in a great battle near Mylæ completely defeated Sext. Pompey, who, after his land army had surrendered to the enemy, escaped with a few ships into Asia, where he was soon afterwards murdered. Lepidus having assisted in the recovery of Sicily, now claimed the island as his province; but Octavianus, treating him with haughty insolence, commanded his troops to abandon him, and sent him to Rome, where he spent the remainder of his life as *Pontifex Maximus*, that is, chief of the college of pontiffs.

7. M. Antony and the War at Actium.—The government of the Roman world was now divided between two men, each of whom was equally desirous to crush the other; but matters still went on for a few years before an open rupture between them took place. For some time the eastern frontiers of the Roman empire had been threatened by the Parthians, who, after the defeat of Crassus, made several inroads into Syria. The generals whom Antony sent against the enemy conducted the war with skill and ability, until, in B. C. 37, Antony determined himself to undertake the command

against the Parthians. He advanced into Media, and was well supported by the king of Armenia; but he was careless in his operations, and when attacked by the enemy his army was nearly annihilated; his camp, with all its provisions and military stores, fell into the hands of the Parthians, and Antony himself saved his life only with great difficulty. After this defeat, which every Roman felt as a national disgrace, Antony without any concern returned to Alexandria in Egypt, where, as before, he abandoned himself to the sensual pleasures of the corrupt court. Whole provinces, such as Cœle-Syria, Judæa, Cyprus, and Armenia, were given by him as presents to his mistress; nay, he went so far as to celebrate a triumph at Alexandria, and to divorce Octavia, who, though shamefully neglected, had done everything in her power to maintain a good understanding between her dissolute husband and her brother. This conduct of Antony exasperated all classes at Rome, and war was declared against him and Cleopatra in B. C. 32. Early in the following year, Agrippa with his fleet spread over the Adriatic, and Octavianus disembarked his legions on the coast of Epirus. The hostile fleets met off the promontory of Actium on the 2d of September, B. C. 31; and on that day was fought the great battle which placed Octavianus at the head of the Roman republic. Cleopatra, who had accompanied Antony, took to flight soon after the commencement of the battle; and Antony followed her, leaving his army and fleet to their fate. The forces, now without a head, were easily vanquished or surrendered, and Octavianus behaved with great moderation towards his enemies. Soon after his victory, he set out in pursuit of the fugitives, and on his arrival at Alexandria, Cleopatra tried to win her conqueror, but without success. Antony, believing that his mistress had been put to death, killed himself, B. C. 30; and Cleopatra soon after destroyed herself, in order to escape the humiliation of being led to Rome as a captive. The manner of her death is unknown. When her statue was carried in triumph through the streets of Rome, a serpent twining round the arm seemed to confirm the rumour that she had died by the bite of a viper, which had been conveyed to her in a basket of figs. The year after this, Octavianus returned to Rome, when the temple of Janus was closed as a sign that peace was restored throughout the empire.

EXERCISES.

1. What act was the commencement of the civil war? How was Cæsar received as he advanced into Italy? What did Pompey do? How did Cæsar treat his enemies? Sketch his Spanish campaign. De-

scribe his subsequent movements until the battle of Pharsalia. What was the end of Pompey? What risk did Cæsar run in Egypt? Whom did he defeat at Zela, and when? Give his despatch.

2. What was the condition of Rome on Cæsar's return? How did he reward his friends? Sketch the African campaign. How many lives were lost? Who were the chief victims of that war? What triumphs did Cæsar celebrate? What reforms did he introduce? Give a sketch of the last Spanish campaign. What became of the two Pompeys.

3. What honours were conferred on Cæsar? What reforms and improvements did he introduce? To what title did he aspire? Give the particulars of the conspiracy against him, and of his assassination. What has been said of this crime?

4. How was the news of Cæsar's death received? What was Antony's funeral oration? Where did the chief conspirators retire? What new character appeared on the scene? How did Cicero act? What led to the formation of the triumvirate? How did they punish their enemies? Give anecdotes of the proscriptions. How many victims perished? Who was the most illustrious of them?

5. What had become of Brutus and Cassius? Who were against them? Describe the final battles.

6. How was the Roman empire now divided? How did Antony conduct himself? What did Fulvia do? What occurred at Perusia? Describe the struggle with S. Pompey. What became of him? How was Lepidus treated?

7. Who now shared the Roman world? Describe the proceedings of Antony. Describe the battle of Actium. What was the end of Antony and of Cleopatra?

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS TO THE DEATH OF NERO, B. C. 30—A. D. 68.

Octavianus' Conduct and Powers—Wars under Augustus—Wars against the Germans—The Family of Augustus—Reign of Tiberius—Reign of Caligula—Reign of Claudius—Reign of Nero.

1. OCTAVIANUS' CONDUCT AND POWERS.—Octavianus did not return from the east until B. C. 29; and on his arrival both the senate and the people vied with each other in showing to him the most abject servility and adulation. He was now the sole and undisputed master of the vast empire; but, in order not to shock the feelings of any, he allowed the republican institutions and forms to remain unaltered. The comitia and the senate met as before, and the elections and legislature were conducted according to the established custom. The ruler assumed no emblem or title of sovereign power, and was in appearance no more than a republican magistrate. The majority of the Romans must have become convinced by this

time that it was impossible, under the circumstances, to maintain truly republican institutions; and many must have been heartily glad that the period of contention for supreme power among the leaders of parties had come to a close. Still, however, there existed a few enthusiasts who dreamt of the possibility of restoring republican freedom, and eagerly seized upon any opportunity to realize their favourite scheme. But it was of no avail, for the populace were unconcerned about the form of government, provided they were well fed and amused.

During the first few years after the return of Octavianus, all the honours and powers previously possessed by the republican magistrates were successively conferred upon him; so that although the republican magistrates continued to be appointed as before, he united in his own person all their powers. In the very year of his return, he was named *Imperator*, that is, emperor; in the year following he was made *Princeps senatus* (chief of the senate); and in the next year he received the title of *Augustus*, which was ever after borne by the emperors. In the year B. C. 23, he obtained the permanent powers of a proconsul and of a tribune of the plebs, by the latter of which his person became sacred and inviolable. He made, on the whole, a praiseworthy use of the powers thus intrusted to him. The senate, which had latterly been filled by many unworthy members, was purified, and its number reduced to 600; but the independence of that august body gradually died away, and after the time of Augustus it was little more than a council of state, always willing to execute the orders of the sovereign. It moreover acquired the functions of a supreme court of justice, by which persons were tried who had offended against the majesty of the emperor, or such persons as the sovereign himself could not have punished without incurring some degree of odium. Augustus deserved the gratitude of his contemporaries for the care he bestowed upon the administration of the empire in general, and of the city of Rome in particular. The lawlessness and demoralization prevailing in the capital had latterly made the life and property of the best citizens most insecure; but he now devised means for restoring safety, peace, and order; with a view to which he divided the city and its suburbs into fourteen regions, which were governed by strict police regulations. For the purpose of securing his personal safety, he formed a numerous body-guard of ten cohorts, called the *prætoriani:* three of these cohorts were stationed at Rome, and the rest in various parts of Italy. His successor Tiberius afterwards concentrated them all in an adjacent fortified

camp, called *castra prætoria*. The administration of the provinces also henceforth became better and more regular than it had ever been before. In B. C. 27, he divided all of them between himself and the senate, giving to the latter those which were perfectly peaceful and tranquil, and did not require the presence of an armed force, while he reserved for himself those which were of a more warlike character, or had not yet been completely subdued. The revenues derived from the senatorial provinces flowed into the regular state treasury, called *ærarium;* but for those obtained from the imperial provinces he established a separate treasury, called *fiscus*, of which the control belonged to the emperor alone.

The occasional outbreaks of the old republican spirit, which displayed themselves in conspiracies and vain attempts at revolution, naturally intimidated the emperor; and it is said that during the latter part of his reign he was always prepared to meet any unexpected attack upon his life.

2. WARS UNDER AUGUSTUS.—The wars carried on by the Romans during the time of Augustus were more of a defensive than of an offensive character, his object being rather to protect the frontiers of the empire than to make fresh conquests. The first war undertaken after his return from the east was that against the Asturians and Cantabrians in the north of Spain, which were the only tribes of that peninsula yet unsubdued. The emperor himself conducted the war for a period of three years, from B. C. 27 to B. C. 24; but although in the latter year these Spanish tribes submitted, they found it difficult to renounce their freedom, and, after a renewed attempt to recover their independence, were finally subdued in B. C. 19 by Agrippa.

Ælius Gallus, governor of Egypt, attempting to make conquests in Arabia, was signally unsuccessful, and nearly perished with his army in the desert; but the southern frontier of Egypt was secured by several victories over the Æthiopians. In B. C. 20, the Parthians, who until then had been the most formidable enemies of Rome in the east, made peace with the empire, and sent back the Roman standards which had fallen into their hands during the campaigns of Crassus and Antony.

The independence of numerous warlike tribes in the valleys of the Alps, as well as in Vindelicia and Noricum, rendered, or seemed to render, Italy unsafe; and accordingly a fierce war was commenced against them in B. C. 25, and was not brought to a final termination until B. C. 13. The manner in which those Alpine tribes were treated by their conquerors excited fears and alarm among the Gauls and Germans on the

north of the Alps, and some of the German tribes attacked the Romans in their province of Gaul. This invasion produced such terror at Rome, that Augustus himself, in B. C. 16, marched into Gaul with an army; but in B. C. 13, when the Alpine tribes were finally reduced by his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus, the latter of the two brothers was commissioned to undertake the command of the forces on the Rhine, and Augustus returned to Rome.

3. WARS AGAINST THE GERMANS.—It was manifest that Gaul could not be safe so long as the Germans on the east of the Rhine were unsubdued, and Drusus accordingly formed a plan to conquer Germany as far as the river Elbe. He made several successful expeditions into the country on the east of the Rhine, and endeavoured to secure his conquests by building the fortress of Aliso on the river Lippe. In B. C. 9, he actually advanced as far as the Elbe; but the difficulty of procuring provisions in the wilds of Germany obliged him to retrace his steps, and while he was returning he injured himself by a fall from his horse so seriously that he died thirty days later. His brother Tiberius now undertook the continuation of the war, and in B. C. 8 crossed the Rhine. But although he was successful in many respects, yet he was unable to complete the work which Drusus had begun, and in B. C. 6 he returned to Rome, leaving the command of his forces to Domitius Ahenobarbus, who contemplated carrying his conquests even beyond the Elbe. Notwithstanding his boldness and prudence, however, he gained no permanent advantages; and in B. C. 4, Tiberius, resuming the command of the armies on the Rhine, succeeded, by brilliant victories as well as prudent negotiations, in extending the Roman dominion as far as the river Weser; and in A. D. 5, Western Germany was formed into a Roman province. When these affairs were settled, Tiberius prepared to march against Maroboduus, the powerful king of the Marcomanni, in the modern kingdom of Bohemia, but before hostilities actually commenced Tiberius was informed of a great insurrection in Pannonia and Dalmatia, which countries he himself had subdued several years before; he was therefore compelled to conclude peace with the Marcomannian king, and direct all his energies against the revolted countries. The war against them lasted for two years; and the Romans, though at first unsuccessful, in A. D. 9 succeeded in taking one of their great strongholds, and thereby compelled them to submit.

Meantime the Romans were busily engaged in introducing their own language and institutions into the province of

Western Germany; but the insolent conduct of the Roman governor, Quinctilius Varus, excited the bitterest hostility among the barbarians, and a conspiracy was formed by Arminius, a young Cheruscan chief who had served among the Romans and was well acquainted with their tactics. The Cheruscans were joined by several other tribes; and in A. D. 9, Varus allowed himself to fall into an ambuscade in the forest of Teutoburg, where his whole army was so completely defeated that in despair he put an end to his life. The field of battle was literally covered with the bodies of the slain, and the survivors were sold as slaves. The Roman fortress of Aliso was taken and destroyed; and the Romans being forced to evacuate their recently conquered province, henceforth confined themselves to the left bank of the Rhine. Augustus, on hearing of this disaster, sorrowfully exclaimed, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!" Arminius was ever after looked upon by his countrymen as the deliverer of Germany from the yoke of the Romans.

4. THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS.—Augustus was married to Livia, an ambitious and domineering woman, the mother of Drusus and Tiberius by her former husband. His own daughter Julia was married to his friend Agrippa, by whom she had two sons, Caius and Lucius Cæsar, both promising young men who died at an early age, and not without suspicion of having been poisoned by Livia, who was desirous of securing the succession to her own surviving son Tiberius. Julia herself led such a dissolute life, that her father in the end thought it necessary to banish her. A posthumous son of Agrippa by Julia was first banished to a distant island and then assassinated, to remove every obstacle in the way of Tiberius. Amid these family afflictions, Augustus died in the 72d year of his age, on the 19th of August A. D. 14, at Nola in Campania, whither he had gone to restore his shattered health.

During his long reign, Augustus had never kept a court in the modern sense of the term, but affected in everything the simplicity of a citizen; nor had he any ministers, but was advised and supported by several men of great culture and ability, such as Agrippa, Mæcenas, Asinius Pollio, and Valerius Messala. The age of Augustus is commonly described as the golden age of Roman literature. Cicero had developed Latin prose to its highest perfection even before; but the poets Horace, Virgil, and Ovid, with many others, including the historian Livy, have given to that period a character for literary culture which was never surpassed in any subsequent age of Rome.

5. Reign of Tiberius.—Owing to the contrivances of Livia, Tiberius succeeded his stepfather without opposition. He had greatly distinguished himself during the wars in the reign of Augustus; but various circumstances had soured his temper, and he was an extraordinary proficient in dissimulation, which for a time enabled him to conceal his vicious disposition. He had only a few friends, but one of them, Ælius Sejanus, in the course of time gained the most complete influence over him. This man was of the most tyrannical and cruel disposition, and it was on his advice that in A. D. 23, the prætorian cohorts received their stationary camp near the gates of the city. This measure, insignificant as it may appear, contributed more than anything else towards changing the government into a military despotism, for the prætorians henceforth were the ever ready tools of the emperors, and in the end raised and deposed them at their pleasure. All the remaining vestiges of republican freedom were abolished, and the functions of the comitia were transferred to the senate, which degraded itself into a mere instrument of the ruler, and slavishly performed those acts which the despot himself had not the courage to undertake. The charge of high treason against the person of the emperor became one of the commonest accusations, and every one was declared guilty of it who by speech, deed, or writing offended the emperor. This tyrannical measure called into being hosts of crafty spies and informers, who were always sure of handsome rewards for their services; every honest expression of opinion was thus stifled, and the more numerous the informers, the greater became the fears and cruelties of the tyrant. Tiberius at last left the reins of government entirely in the hands of his favourite, in order that, unencumbered by public business, he might without restraint abandon himself to pleasure and debauchery. In A. D. 26, he withdrew to the island of Capri, in the Bay of Naples, where he indulged in the grossest sensuality, and amused himself with torturing his victims. Sejanus, who during his master's absence exercised unlimited power at Rome, treacherously endeavoured to destroy all the members of the imperial family, for his ambition was to raise himself to the throne of the Cæsars. Drusus, the only son of Tiberius, had been poisoned in A. D. 23, and the remaining relatives of the emperor were got rid of in various ways. Among these victims were Agrippina and three of her sons; Caius, the youngest, was the only one that escaped. When Sejanus thought his path to be sufficiently smoothed, he committed the imprudence to sue for the hand of the widow of Drusus. This

step so exasperated Tiberius, that he himself addressed a letter to the senate demanding the execution of Sejanus as guilty of high treason. Sejanus accordingly was put to death in A. D. 31, and the Romans rejoiced at their liberation from the monster. But matters did not improve; for Macro, his successor, was a man of the same stamp, and Tiberius, knowing how little he could depend even upon his confidential friends, became still more distrustful and cruel. Being unable to continue his mode of life at Capri, he at length resolved to return to Rome. On his way thither he was taken seriously ill at a villa near Misenum. His minister Macro had in the meantime conspired with Caius, the surviving son of Agrippina, to get rid of the aged tyrant, and during his illness they proclaimed Caius as his successor. But Tiberius unexpectedly recovered, and the conspirators, justly fearing his vengeance, caused him to be suffocated in his bed, A. D. 37.

In regard to the external history of the empire during the reign of Tiberius, we must here observe, that in the very year of his accession a great insurrection broke out among the legions stationed in Pannonia and on the Rhine, whose wish it was that Germanicus, the son of Drusus, should assume the imperial dignity. Germanicus, who was at the time commanding the troops on the Rhine, generously declined the honour, and succeeded in quieting the mutinous spirit of the soldiers. The rebels in Pannonia were pacified by the prudent concessions of Tiberius. When these threatening dangers were overcome, Germanicus determined to avenge the defeat sustained by the Romans under Varus. He penetrated as far as the forest of Teutoburg, where he found the battle-field still strewn with the bones of his countrymen; his bold invasion now again roused the Cheruscans and other German tribes to resist the invaders to the utmost; but notwithstanding some serious losses, Germanicus, through his own foresight and the superior military discipline of his soldiers, conquered the barbarians in two battles. The Romans might now have permanently established themselves in Western Germany had it not been for the mean jealousy of Tiberius, who could not endure to see any of his own generals successful and popular; and accordingly, in A. D. 16, he recalled the victorious Germanicus. The Germans were now for a time left to themselves, and Germanicus, who was sent to the east, died at Antioch in A. D. 19. Tiberius could not forget that he had once been thwarted in his attempt to subdue the Marcomannian king Maroboduus, and accordingly sent his son Drusus to undertake the war against him, A. D. 17; but, in order to

facilitate the undertaking, some German tribes were instigated to attack the king in another quarter. Maroboduus being hard pressed by his German enemies, who even conquered his capital, implored the assistance of the Romans, whom he did not know to be concerned in the attacks that were made upon him. But Tiberius, in A. D. 19, ordered him to renounce his kingdom, and to spend the remainder of his life as a private person at Ravenna. Catualda, the chief of the Germans who had assisted the Romans in this matter, soon after experienced the same fate, for he too was driven from his dominions, and ordered to pass the remainder of his days at Forum Julii in the south of Gaul. These wars, and a few unimportant insurrections in Africa and Gaul which were easily repressed, are the only foreign events which disturbed the tranquillity of the empire under Tiberius.

6. Reign of Caligula.—Caius, the youngest son of Agrippina, better known by his nickname of Caligula, succeeded Tiberius, and reigned from A. D. 36 to A. D. 41. His father was the generous and noble-minded Germanicus, who had commanded the legions on the Rhine, and as his son resembled him in appearance, great hopes were entertained that in his conduct also he would follow the example of his parent. During the first eight months all seemed to promise favourably, but at the end of that period he was taken seriously ill, and although his bodily health was restored, he was henceforth an altered man. It is not improbable that during the remainder of his life he may have laboured under a species of insanity. His conduct towards his predecessor and his connexion with Macro sufficiently indicate that he was of a vicious disposition, though extremely cunning in concealing it; but after his recovery from the illness, he indulged in his evil passions and propensities without any restraint, and at once showed that he was a bloodthirsty tyrant, an extravagant spendthrift, a vain boaster, and a low, vulgar sensualist. His delight was to witness the agonies of those he had condemned to death: he had the impudence to triumph over Germans and Britons whose countries he had never entered; and although his favourite companions were the vilest of the vile, he yet commanded that he should be worshipped as a god. No wonder, then, that after he had scarcely occupied the throne for two years, a conspiracy was formed against him. It was indeed discovered, and its authors were punished with death; but two years later another by certain officers of the prætorians was more successful, and in A. D. 41 the tyrant was murdered in his own palace while attending the rehearsal of a play.

7. Reign of Claudius.—During the insurrection which put an end to the reign of Caligula, and in which his wife and daughters also were murdered, Claudius, a member of the imperial family, had concealed himself, but was dragged forth by the assassins and at once proclaimed emperor. Claudius was the son of Drusus and Antonia, and brother to Germanicus. Under the reigns of his two predecessors he had been treated by his relatives, and even by his own mother, with scorn and contempt, as if he had been some idiotic monster. This treatment had made him shy, timid, and cowardly, and in his seclusion from the world he had chiefly occupied himself with the study of history and antiquities, and had written some historical works. When he ascended the throne he was fifty-one years old, and while he indulged in his literary tastes, his freedmen, who had always been his only friends, exercised the most complete influence over him, and governed the empire as they pleased. His own wife, the dissolute Messalina, openly violated every rule of decency and morality, and even went so far as publicly to marry a handsome young Roman, although she was the lawful wife of Claudius. He had already been led by his friends and favourites to commit several acts of cruelty, and to put to death some of the best among his subjects. In regard to his wife's conduct, he had hitherto connived at it; but when her shameless behaviour had reached its climax, he became terrified at the prospect of still greater misfortunes, and ordered her to be put to death. He then married his niece Agrippina, a most beautiful and clever but immoral and domineering woman, all whose thoughts appear to have been bent upon securing the succession to Nero, her son by a former husband. With this view she planned the destruction of the children of Claudius by his former wife; and when her intrigues were discovered, and Claudius was on the point of frustrating them, she contrived to be beforehand with him, and caused him to be poisoned in A. D. 54. Such is the brief history of the unfortunate Claudius, whose disposition was mild and gentle so long as he was uninfluenced by unprincipled freedmen and licentious women. During his reign he undertook and completed some important architectural works: he improved and fortified the harbour at Ostia, and constructed a gigantic tunnel by which he attempted to drain off the waters of Lake Fucinus and lead them into the river Liris.

While Rome was thus internally decaying through every kind of vice and immorality, the Roman arms were still victorious in the distant provinces. In the east the Parthians

had attempted to conquer Armenia, but were prevented in A. D. 51 by successful enterprises of the Romans. The progress of the Roman arms in Western Germany was likewise great, and a second time an opportunity occurred of permanently subduing that country; but Claudius ordered his victorious general to abandon the eastern bank of the Rhine, and confine himself to the protection of the western. The most memorable war of the reign of Claudius was that undertaken in A. D. 43 against Britain, whither the Romans went on the invitation of an exiled British chief. Claudius himself visited the island for a few days, after which he returned to Rome in triumph, leaving the management of the war to his lieutenants, who continued it for a period of nine years. During these protracted campaigns, in which the future emperors Vespasian and Titus gained their first military honours, the whole of the southern and eastern part of England was permanently subdued, and in A. D. 51 erected into a Roman province.

8. Reign of Nero.—The plan of Agrippina completely succeeded, and, after the murder of Claudius, her son Nero, then only seventeen years old, was proclaimed emperor by the prætorians. The young man was possessed of considerable talent, and had been educated by the philosopher Seneca, and Burrus, an officer of the prætorians; but the evil influences by which he was surrounded, a licentious court, and the abject servility of the senate and people, could not fail to produce the most baneful results. During the first five years, however, his administration was so satisfactory and popular that they were afterwards regarded as a sort of golden age; and things might have gone on without much reason for complaint, had Nero's evil passions not been roused by his ambitious mother, who constantly interfered in the affairs of the government, and even insinuated that she would procure his deposition and the elevation of Britannicus, the son of Claudius. Fear and revenge now goaded on the young tyrant, and in rapid succession he murdered both Britannicus and his mother. His plan was to drown the latter by means of a boat constructed in such a manner as to fall to pieces after it was launched upon the waters; but as she saved herself by swimming, she was assassinated by his orders. After this Nero fell more and more under the influence of such dissolute women as Poppæa Sabina and Acte, and hurried from one crime to another. His former educators, Seneca and Burrus, had hitherto put some restraint upon his conduct; but the removal of Burrus from the court, in A. D. 62, was the

beginning of a succession of the most fearful atrocities. Nero first banished his wife Octavia to the island of Pandataria, where she was soon afterwards murdered to make room for Poppæa Sabina. In A. D. 64 he is said to have set fire to the city of Rome, that he might enjoy a vivid representation of the burning of Troy. The conflagration lasted for six days and six nights, and reduced the greater part of the city to a heap of ashes. The Christians, who were then but an obscure sect, were charged with having caused the conflagration, and a persecution was instituted against them, during which the apostles Peter and Paul are said to have perished. After the fire, Nero caused the city to be restored in the most magnificent style; and his own palace, called the Golden House, on the Palatine Hill, surpassed everything in splendour and grandeur. The sufferings and the losses sustained by the citizens must have weighed very heavily upon them; but the populace was well amused and well fed with the rich plunder brought to Rome from the distant provinces. The real state of feeling, however, was manifested in the very year after the conflagration; for a conspiracy against the life of Nero was headed by Calpurnius Piso, but it was discovered, and Piso, Seneca, the poet Lucan, and many others, were punished with death. Nero next killed Poppæa Sabina in a fit of passion, and Antonia, a daughter of Claudius, because she refused to marry him. His victims were multiplied every day, and the better and more virtuous a man was, the more he excited the tyrant's fear and hatred. In the year A. D. 68, a great insurrection, headed by Julius Vindex, broke out in Gaul, in consequence of the oppression and extortion to which that province had been subjected. Vindex suggested to his soldiers Servius Galba, who was then governor of Spain, as a fit ruler of the empire, and the legions at once proclaimed him emperor; but another general, Rufus, the governor of Southern Germany, took the field against Vindex, who was soon after murdered. The prætorians at Rome, on being informed of the movements in Gaul, without hesitation acknowledged Servius Galba as emperor; and Nero, finding himself abandoned by every one, killed himself in the month of June A. D. 68. He was the last descendant of the dynasty of Augustus, and henceforth the right of electing a sovereign was assumed sometimes by the prætorians, sometimes by the legions in the provinces, and sometimes by both, so that occasionally two or even three emperors were proclaimed simultaneously.

About the end of the reign of Claudius, the Parthians had again attempted to conquer Armenia; but in A. D. 54 the able

Domitius Corbulo undertook the command against them, and in a protracted war succeeded in recovering the countries occupied by the enemy; two years before the death of Nero, however, Armenia again fell into the hands of the Parthians. In Britain a great insurrection broke out in A. D. 61, which was caused by the insatiable avarice of the governor Suetonius Paulinus. He had undertaken an expedition against the island of Mona, and during his absence, the Britons, under their brave queen Boadicea, took up arms, cut to pieces a whole Roman legion, and plundered and destroyed the most important Roman colonies in the country. Paulinus speedily returned, and defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, in which 80,000 Britons are said to have lost their lives. Boadicea herself preferred death to a life of bondage; but peace was concluded because Paulinus was recalled, and his successor was averse to a continuation of the war. In the year A. D. 67, while Nero was staying in Greece taking part in the great national games, the Jews also broke out in open rebellion against their oppressors, and were victorious in their first encounter; but immediately after, Nero intrusted the command against them to Vespasian, who had already given evidence of his ability as a general during the war in Britain.

EXERCISES.

1. How did Octavianus act on returning to Rome? What were his powers? What titles were conferred on him? Describe his police arrangements for the city? What was the prætorian cohort? How was the administration of the provinces arranged? The difference between *ærarium* and *fiscus*.

2. What took place in Spain—in Egypt—and in Gaul?

3. Who conducted the first expedition against the Germans, and with what result? Describe the campaigns of his successors. Give the particulars of the campaign of Varus.

4. Give an account of the family of Augustus. When and where did he die? Who were his advisers? What literary men adorned his reign?

5. Who succeeded Augustus? What was his character? Who was his favourite, and what was his character? How did he behave? What was his end? Where did Tiberius reside? Who succeeded to the place of Sejanus? Describe the end of Tiberius. Mention briefly the foreign wars in this reign.

6. Who succeeded Tiberius? Who was his father? Describe the early part of his reign. What caused a change? What were his tastes? What was his end?

7. Who succeeded Caligula? What were his birth and character? Who was his wife? What was her conduct? Who was his second wife, and how did she act? What public works were executed? Describe the wars in the East, in Germany, and in Britain.

8. Who succeeded Claudius? What was his early disposition? What caused a change? Narrate some of his cruel excesses. What was his end? What happened in Parthia and in Britain?

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE DEATH OF NERO TO THE ACCESSION OF COMMODUS, A. D. 68—A. D. 180.

Servius Galba, Salvius Otho, and Vitellius—Vespasian—Titus—Domitian—Nerva—Trajan—Hadrian—Antoninus Pius—Marcus Aurelius.

1. SERVIUS GALBA, SALVIUS OTHO, AND VITELLIUS.—Servius Galba, on being informed of his unexpected elevation, proceeded to Rome, accompanied by Salvius Otho, the governor of Lusitania. As he was indebted for his high dignity to the soldiers, who on this occasion had first usurped the right of making an emperor, they expected that he would liberally reward them. In this, however, they were disappointed, for he was not only sparing in his donations, but even did many harsh things to counteract the laxity of their discipline. He too was unfortunately under the influence of worthless freedmen, who induced him to commit many tyrannical acts. The ill feeling thus created led to the formation of a conspiracy, which was headed by Salvius Otho; and the unfortunate emperor was murdered in the Forum at the beginning of A. D. 69, after a reign of scarcely eight months.

Immediately after the perpetration of this deed, the prætorians proclaimed Salvius Otho emperor, and their choice was unhesitatingly sanctioned by the senate. He had been married to the notorious Poppæa Sabina before she became the wife of Nero, and no great expectations were entertained of him; but he nevertheless brought to punishment several of those who had been the ready tools of Nero. He had not occupied the throne many days, when tidings were brought to Rome that the legions on the Rhine had set up another emperor in the person of their own commander Vitellius. The latter without delay sent an army into Italy, and a battle was fought near Bedriacum, in which Otho's forces were completely defeated; and a few days later, in April A. D. 69, he himself put an end to his existence. His soldiers surrendered to Vitellius, who now found himself in the undisputed possession of the sovereignty. He was a man of low and vulgar habits, allowed the prætorians to have their own way in everything, and was conspicuous only for the unscrupulous manner in which he extorted and squandered the treasures of the empire. The legions in Syria and other provinces rose in open rebellion against him; and during the ensuing disturbances, Vespasian, who was then successfully carrying on the war

against the revolted Jews, was proclaimed emperor. Being supported by the legions and governors of other provinces besides Syria, he at once determined to dispute the sovereignty with Vitellius, and leaving the command against the Jews to his son Titus, he quitted Syria, though he did not go to Italy, but left his cause in the hands of his trustworthy friends and supporters. One of the latter, Antonius Primus, marched with an army across the Alps, defeated Vitellius near Bedriacum, and sacked the town of Cremona for its fidelity to him. The hostile army then advanced towards Rome, where Vitellius could still rely on the populace and the prætorians. A fearful massacre took place in the streets of the city, during which Sabinus, a brother of Vespasian, was taken prisoner and murdered, and the splendid and venerable Capitoline temple destroyed by fire. Vitellius had taken refuge in the prætorian camp, but was dragged forth by the soldiers and put to death in a most cruel manner, in the month of December A. D. 69.

2. VESPASIAN.—Vespasian himself did not arrive at Rome until A. D. 70, all business of government having in his absence been managed by his son Domitian and his friend Mucianus, who had completely succeeded in taming the licentious prætorians. His character and conduct form a strong contrast to the contemptible tyrants by whom the empire had hitherto been governed. He was just the man necessary for Rome, and did much to improve the hopeless condition into which the state had fallen. He resolutely set about restoring the discipline of the troops and purifying the senate; he suppressed the trials for high treason, got rid of the odious class of informers, watched over the fair administration of justice, and economized the finances by wise regulations about the taxes. He has been charged with niggardliness, but he certainly did not spare money whenever the public interest or the improvements of the city required it; for he spent large sums upon the restoration of the Capitoline temple, upon the building of the temple of Peace, and of the Colosseum, that gigantic pile which still remains as one of the grandest ornaments of Rome. Vespasian seems to have been the first who conceived the idea that the world should not be ruled by Rome and Italy alone, but that the distant provinces also had a right to be represented in the senate; and by his personal dislike of all luxuries and refinements, he discouraged and put an end to many vicious practices among the higher orders. He was, however, wanting in the refined feelings of a gentleman, and had a singular aversion not only to republicans, who

were still not quite extinct, but also to all philosophers and to the Christians, whom he identified with the Jews. Philosophers, especially the Stoics, were regarded by him as foolish speculators harbouring republican ideas. Hence, in A. D. 74, a large number of them were expelled from the city, and the stoic Helvidius Priscus, who was often troublesome by his opposition in the senate, was sent into exile and afterwards put to death.

In the year of Vespasian's arrival in Italy, Jerusalem was conquered and destroyed by Titus on the 2d of September. The Jews had been driven into rebellion by the cruel oppression of the Roman procurators of Judæa. The city of Jerusalem was besieged for a long time, and defended by the Jews, who had crowded into it from all parts, with the courage of despair; and when at last the city fell into the hands of the Romans, the Jews, of whom more than a million had fallen, lost their independence for ever. Being forbidden to rebuild the city, they dispersed over all parts of the Roman empire, and were subjected to the payment of an extraordinary tax. The triumphal arch of Titus still existing at Rome is a lasting monument of the memorable destruction of their capital.

About the time when the war against the Jews was approaching its end, an insurrection, headed by Claudius Civilis, broke out in the north of Gaul, but, owing to the quickness and energy of Cerealis, the Roman commander, the various tribes were speedily subdued one after another. In A. D. 71, the successful general was appointed governor of Britain, whither he was accompanied by Agricola, the father-in-law of the great historian Tacitus. Agricola himself succeeded Cerealis, and conducted the administration of Britain from A. D. 77 to A. D. 85 in a manner creditable to himself and beneficial to the Britons. During this period he carried his conquests as far as the Clyde and Forth, advanced even to the foot of the Grampians, and explored the northern coasts of Scotland. The condition of the empire was such that even Vespasian could not entirely escape from its evil influences, and he too was guilty of some acts of flagrant cruelty. Towards the end of his life a conspiracy was formed against him, but its authors were found out and put to death. Not long afterwards, however, he was taken ill, and died about the middle of A. D. 79.

3. TITUS.—Vespasian was succeeded by his son Titus, who had latterly assisted his father in the government, and had created considerable apprehensions by some acts of cruelty; but his reign, though it lasted only until the middle of September, A. D. 81, was so popular and acceptable to all parties

that he was styled the love and delight of mankind. His brief reign was marked by several great calamities, which afforded him ample opportunities for showing his kindness and benevolence. The first of these was a fearful eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which occurred in the month of August A. D. 79, and buried the towns of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ under masses of lava and ashes. Titus spent nearly all his property in relieving those who had escaped from the terrible catastrophe. Among the numerous victims who perished during that memorable eruption, we may mention the elder Pliny, whose work on Natural History still survives. In the year after this misfortune a great fire broke out at Rome, which raged for three days and reduced to ashes the finest parts of the city; and scarcely had this disaster ceased, when a pestilence began its ravages in all parts of Italy. The Colosseum, which had been commenced by his father, was completed and inaugurated in A. D. 81; and in the same year, the Baths or Thermæ, which still bear the name of Titus, were built. He died of an illness in the same villa in the country of the Sabines in which Vespasian had breathed his last, and all the Roman people mourned for him as for a father.

4. DOMITIAN.—Domitian, the brother and successor of Titus, was an object of general dread and aversion, for he had always shown a tyrannical disposition, and was believed even to have made attempts upon the lives of his father and brother. At first, however, his reign was better than had been anticipated; but it was not long before he displayed his real character, and showed to the Roman world that a more detestable tyrant had never yet ruled over it. The infamous brood of informers again sprang up in all quarters, the most extravagant sums were lavished upon the soldiers, and in order to obtain the money required, Domitian had recourse to plunder and confiscation. Many a wealthy Roman was treated as a criminal merely because he was possessed of riches coveted by the despot. He was not devoid of a certain amount of talent; but his occupation with literature had no influence upon his character, and his chief delight was to witness the bloody exhibitions of gladiators and the agonies of his victims. In A. D. 83, he undertook an expedition into Germany, and built the celebrated frontier wall between the southern and northern Germans, the remains of which still exist. Agricola was pursuing his victorious career in Britain, but was recalled by Domitian, who was jealous of his success. In A. D. 86, the Dacians on the north of the Danube crossed the river, and defeated the Romans in Mœsia. The Marcomanni

and other German tribes, though allied with Rome, refused their support, and thus obliged Domitian to humble himself so far as to purchase peace with the Dacians in A. D. 90, by the payment of an annual tribute. This humiliation, notwithstanding which he assumed the honourable surname of Dacicus, seems to have had such a strong effect upon his mind that he became worse than a madman. He ordered himself to be worshipped under the title of Lord and God; the most illustrious citizens were put to death; the Christians, whose numbers continued steadily increasing, were put to death indiscriminately as suspected persons; all philosophers, one of whom was the celebrated Epictetus, were banished; no man, in short, was safe who ventured to express his honest convictions. His tyranny went so far that he even determined to put to death his own wife Domitia; but she anticipated his design, and, having formed a conspiracy, caused her husband to be assassinated in his bedroom by one of her freedmen. This happened on the 18th of September A. D. 96.

5. NERVA.—The dynasty of Vespasian had now become extinct. All the Roman emperors hitherto had been natives of Italy, but henceforth provincials also were frequently raised to the throne. After the murder of Domitian, the soldiers proclaimed Nerva, a venerable and amiable senator; but he was unpopular with the prætorians, in consequence of which he was obliged to exercise great discretion in the management of affairs. Notwithstanding this, however, he recalled from exile several of those who had been banished by his predecessor, and punished some who had been the most conspicuous tools of his tyranny. Finding himself too weak to restrain the insolence of the soldiery, he adopted Ulpius Trajan, a distinguished man who was stationed at the time in Germany as commander of the forces there; but a few months after this adoption, towards the end of January A. D. 98, he died of a fever.

6. TRAJAN.—Trajan, the adopted son of Nerva, was a native of the town of Italica in Spain. He did not arrive at Rome after his proclamation until A. D. 99. His administration of the empire entitles him to the surname of the Best; and the spirit with which he carried on the war on the frontiers is sufficient proof of his abilities as a commander. In regard to the former, he did all he could to restore peace and prosperity throughout Italy; he encouraged and facilitated commerce by making new roads, canals, bridges, and harbours. The provinces as well as Rome and Italy were enriched with numerous public buildings both for use and ornament. The most splendid

creation of his at Rome was a new Forum, in the centre of which rose the column of Trajan, which still exists, representing in its sculptures the emperor's victory over the Dacians. In his habits he was plain and simple, and loved the society of men of talent and genius. The conduct of the Roman ladies during the first century of the empire had been of the most dissolute kind; but Plotina, the wife of Trajan, and other ladies of the court, wrought a remarkable change by their good example.

The tribute promised by Domitian to the Dacians had been paid for nearly ten years; but Trajan, deeply feeling the humiliation, resolved to wipe away the stain from the name of the Romans, and in A. D. 100 set out with a large army against the Dacians. He soon made himself master of their capital, and in less than three years compelled them to sue for peace and cede a portion of their territory. When, however, in A. D. 104 the Dacians again rose in arms, Trajan took the field against them a second time. In order to facilitate the communication with the enemy's country, he caused a stone bridge to be built across the Danube, the ruins of which may still be seen at Czernitz, a few miles above the Iron Gates. He prosecuted the war with such vigour, that the Dacian king Decebalus in a fit of despair put an end to his life, A. D. 106, whereupon Dacia became a province and received numerous Roman colonies. Not many years after this, the Parthians again threatened the eastern frontiers of the empire by interfering in the affairs of Armenia. Trajan with his usual quickness marched to the east, and in less than two years recovered Armenia, which was made a Roman province, A. D. 115. He even extended his conquests beyond the river Tigris, subduing Mesopotamia and Assyria, and compelling the Parthians to raise to the throne a man of the emperor's choice. After these glorious successes, he penetrated into Arabia to complete the conquests which had been commenced in that quarter by his generals; but before he could accomplish anything of consequence, he was taken ill, and on his way back to Rome died on the 9th of August A. D. 117, at Selinus in Cilicia. His body was conveyed to Rome, and deposited under the column commemorating his victories over the Dacians.

7. HADRIAN.—When Trajan was taken ill in Arabia, he intrusted the command of his army to Hadrian, a relation of his and a native of Picenum. After the emperor's death, Plotina procured his elevation to the imperial dignity at Antioch, by spreading a report that he was the adopted son

of her late husband. Hadrian was a man of less daring and enterprise than his predecessor; and fearing lest the conquests recently made in the east should involve the empire in perilous wars, he at once restored Assyria and Mesopotamia to the Parthians, and declared Armenia an independent kingdom. After the settlement of these affairs he returned to Rome, A. D. 118, and learning that the province of Mœsia was invaded by Sarmatian tribes, he marched indeed with an army against the invaders; but as his object on all occasions was to secure the frontiers rather than to extend them, he concluded peace with the enemy. He was still engaged in Mœsia, when a number of his personal opponents conspired against him. The plot was discovered, and its originators were severely punished. The sternness of his conduct on this occasion served but to increase the exasperation against him, not only in the army but at Rome, so that he thought it advisable to return to Italy, where he did everything in his power to win the favour of the senate and people.

When he had attained the objects he had set before him, he did what no emperor either before or after him even attempted, for in A. D. 120 he undertook a journey through all the provinces of his vast empire, that he might have an opportunity of informing himself by personal inspection of the wants and necessities of the provincials. Many parts of this journey were made on foot, and he was accompanied by only a small retinue. Everywhere he endeavoured to do something useful, either strengthening or embellishing the cities he visited: he secured the northern part of Britain against the invasions of the Scots by the construction of the famous wall between the Tyne and the Solway. But no city was more beloved and benefited by him than Athens, which was greatly enlarged and adorned with splendid buildings. Hadrian was a man of great intellectual culture and considerable taste in matters of art, though, as he was very capricious, vain, and conceited, flatterers did not find it difficult to gain access to him. Among his friends there were several philosophers and rhetoricians, but their extant works show that, although they were capable of uttering elegant speeches and phrases, yet they were wanting in the manly independence which characterized the early philosophers. Hadrian was still in the east when a fearful insurrection broke out among the Jews, A. D. 133; for their feelings had been wounded most deeply by the introduction of pagan worship into their holy city of Jerusalem, which had even been obliged to change its venerable name to Ælia Capitolina. The war was carried on with

desperate animosity for more than two years, but the Jews were in the end crushed by the gallant Julius Severus, and forbidden henceforth to take up their abode either at Jerusalem or in its vicinity. The fatigues which Hadrian had undergone during his travels had considerably impaired his health, and he now lived generally in quiet retirement at his splendid villa near Tibur: he is even said to have been tired of life, and to have made several attempts at suicide. His temper also was soured, which led him to many acts of harshness and cruelty. As he had no children, he adopted during his last illness Antoninus Pius, whom he obliged again to adopt Marcus Aurelius. It was only owing to the kindly attachment of Antoninus Pius to his adopted father that an outbreak of popular indignation at his cruelties was prevented. At last the emperor died at Baiæ, on the 10th of July A. D. 138.

8. ANTONINUS PIUS.—Antoninus, who owes the surname of Pius to his filial affection for his adoptive father, belonged to a family of Nemausus (Nîmes) in Gaul, and owed his adoption by Hadrian solely to his personal virtues and merits. His reign, from A. D. 138 to A. D. 161, is the happiest period of the Roman empire. He strictly adhered to the policy of his predecessor, and avoided coming into collision with the barbarians on the frontiers. His peaceful disposition is attested by a saying attributed to him, that he would rather save the life of one citizen than kill a thousand enemies. The sole object of his reign was to promote peace and happiness among his people, and to advance the arts and literature; and the result was that he was beloved throughout his empire more than any sovereign either before or after. His reign, like that of Numa, was not disturbed by any war, so that he had full time to direct his attention to the fair administration of justice, and to the establishment of educational and charitable institutions for poor and orphan children. The emperor himself was a most devout pagan; but he did not interfere with the worship of the Christians, who were already very numerous both at Rome and in the provinces. He died on the 7th of March A. D. 161.

9. MARCUS AURELIUS.—Antoninus Pius had had two sons, but as both died before their father, the imperial dignity naturally descended to his adopted son Marcus Aurelius, surnamed the Philosopher. He was born at Rome, and had been educated with the utmost care. He was particularly fond of the philosophy of the Stoics, the study of which had a peculiar charm for him even in after-life, whenever the affairs of the state allowed him any leisure; for, notwithstanding his at-

tachment to philosophical pursuits, he never neglected his duties as a ruler. Unfortunately he was of a weak constitution, and in order to rid himself of a portion of his heavy duties, he shared the sovereign power with his adopted brother Lucius Verus, a man secretly addicted to debauchery and voluptuousness, vices which had been carefully concealed from M. Aurelius. In the reign of Antoninus Pius the Parthians had been kept in check by the mere remonstrances of the emperor; but as they now again renewed their invasions of the Roman provinces, L. Verus was sent against them at the head of an army in A. D. 162. On arriving in the east he gave full vent to his evil passions, leaving the command of the troops to his generals, who invaded Mesopotamia, destroyed the capital of the Parthians, and made themselves masters of Armenia. The Parthians at last, in A. D. 166, were obliged to conclude a peace with the empire and to evacuate Mesopotamia.

Soon after these events in the east, the safety of Italy itself was threatened by an invasion of several German tribes, among whom the Marcomanni and Quadi were the most powerful. After the return of Verus from Asia, the two emperors set out against the barbarians, who had already advanced as far as Aquileia, with such an overpowering army that the enemy, without venturing upon a battle, retreated before them. Meanwhile Verus died of apoplexy, and Marcus Aurelius alone continued the war with great vigour. Several battles were fought, and one during the winter on the Danube, which was frozen. In A. D. 174 the army of Marcus Aurelius seemed to be on the brink of destruction, for it was surrounded on all sides by the enemy; but during a violent storm the Romans broke through the hostile lines, and thus saved themselves. The barbarians, regarding this miraculous escape as the work of Heaven, sued for peace, which was granted to them on condition of their keeping to the northern bank of the Danube. This war had scarcely been brought to a close, when one of the emperor's generals, Avidius Cassius, stirred up an insurrection in the east. Marcus Aurelius immediately took energetic steps to thwart the attempts of the rebels, but treated their leaders with extraordinary mildness. The emperor was still engaged in this business, when he was informed that the Marcomanni were violating the terms of the late peace, and he at once, A. D. 179, marched against the enemy, accompanied by his son Commodus. Several victories were gained, but the emperor died at Sirmium on the 17th of March A. D. 180, before the war

could be brought to a close. We still possess a work of his entitled "Meditations," written at intervals of leisure, and in which the excellent emperor reveals himself to us in all his benevolence and goodness. His reign and those of his four predecessors form a noble contrast to the manner in which the empire was governed both before and after his time.

EXERCISES.

1. Who succeeded Nero? How long did he reign? Give a sketch of Otho's reign. What sort of a man was Vitellius? What became of him?

2. The character of Vespasian. His reforms? What public works did he build? What was his aversion? Describe the fall of Jerusalem. What was doing in Britain?

3. Who succeeded Vespasian? His character? What calamities marked his reign? What writer perished in one of them? When and where did Titus die?

4. Who succeeded Titus? What was his disposition? What evils reappeared? What was Domitian's chief delight? What expeditions did he undertake? By what folly was the end of his reign characterized? What was his end?

5. Who succeeded Domitian? What was his character? What were his acts?

6. Who succeeded Nerva? What was his surname? What did he do for the empire? What public buildings did he execute? What foreign wars did he carry on? Where did he die?

7. Who succeeded Trajan? What was his character? What was his foreign policy? What remarkable journey did he undertake? What particular city did he benefit? What occurred in Judæa during his reign? What was the close of his reign?

8. Who succeeded Hadrian? Of what place was he native? What was his policy? Mention one of his sayings. How did he treat the Christians?

9. Who succeeded Antoninus Pius? How had he been educated? With whom did he share his power? What campaigns did Verus undertake? What particular peril did Aurelius incur? What writings did he leave?

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF COMMODUS TO THAT OF DIOCLETIAN, A. D. 180 TO A. D. 284.

Commodus—Pertinax, Didius Julianus, and Pescennius Niger—Septimius Severus—Caracalla—Macrinus and Elagabalus—Alexander Severus—Maximinus, the three Gordians, Maximus, Balbinus, and Philippus—Decius, Gallus, and Æmilianus—Valerian, Gallienus, and the so-called thirty Tyrants—Claudius and Aurelian—Claudius Tacitus and Probus—Carus, Carinus, and Numerianus.

1. COMMODUS.—Immediately after the death of M. Aurelius, his unworthy son Commodus purchased peace of the Marco-

manni, and returned to Rome. He had been educated with great care, and his own father had set him the noblest example of a ruler, but all was of no avail; the temptations by which he was surrounded at Rome at the age of nineteen soon effaced the better impressions that had been made upon his mind. Things, however, went on fairly enough, until in A. D. 183 a conspiracy against him was headed by his own sister. This event produced such a change in him that throughout the remainder of his life Commodus behaved as one of the most insane and contemptible tyrants known in history, and his reign henceforth consisted of a series of sanguinary and disgusting excesses. The best men in the state were put to death, and the reins of government intrusted to the most vulgar persons; while Commodus, who possessed unusual bodily strength, took the greatest delight in appearing as a gladiator. Even the people at Rome, accustomed as they had formerly been to every act of tyranny, could not endure the manner in which he allowed the state to be governed; and in A. D. 185, when he appointed Cleander, one of his low favourites, commander of the prætorians, the populace literally tore the man to pieces. At the same time Italy was suffering from famine and pestilence, and the young tyrant, whose thirst for blood was insatiable, at last formed the fatal plot of entering the senate-house with a band of gladiators, and openly murdering the consuls and other illustrious persons. The list containing the names of the intended victims fell into the hands of one of his mistresses, who, finding her own name among them, caused the tyrant to be strangled in his bed on the 31st of December 192. Commodus had never taken any interest in the affairs of the empire, but its frontiers were ably defended by the brave governors of the provinces. About the middle of his reign the governor of Britain had made himself so odious by his tyranny that he was obliged to be recalled. The north of Britain was often disturbed by the inroads of the Caledonians, who defeated several Roman legions, but were finally driven back into their own country by Ulpius Marcellus.

2. PERTINAX, DIDIUS JULIANUS, AND PESCENNIUS NIGER. —All Rome rejoiced at the murder of Commodus, and his memory was cursed: the prætorians alone murmured, for upon them he had lavished the contents of the treasury. The murderers, however, forthwith offered the imperial dignity to Pertinax, the prefect of the city, who accepted it with considerable reluctance. He at once set about devising means to replenish the treasury; he commenced several useful reforms;

and attempted to curb the licentiousness of the prætorians, who had been allowed perfect impunity under his predecessor. He had, however, scarcely been engaged three months in these praiseworthy occupations, when he was murdered during an open rebellion of the soldiers; and the impudence of the latter rose to such a pitch that they offered the diadem to the man who would give them the largest donative. All the candidates who presented themselves were outbidden by the wealthy Didius Julianus, who promised to every one of the 16,000 prætorians nearly two hundred pounds of our money, and he accordingly was proclaimed emperor. But Julianus was detested by both the senate and the body of people, and as the bribe-money was not readily forthcoming, the prætorians were not very ready to protect him against his subjects. At the same time the legions in the east proclaimed Pescennius Niger; and those stationed in Illyricum, Septimius Severus. The latter wisely resolved at once to march into Italy with his army. Julianus endeavoured to save himself by offering to share the government with him, but was put to death on the first of July A. D. 193 by order of the senate, and Septimius Severus was recognised as emperor.

3. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.—As soon as Severus found himself recognised in his new dignity, he displayed the sternest severity at Rome, and acted as a military despot, for he well knew that otherwise the empire would sink into anarchy and dissolution. He disbanded the prætorians, and supplied their place with a body four times more numerous than they had been hitherto. He then took the field against his rival Pescennius Niger, who, after having maintained himself in several battles, was completely defeated at Issus in A. D. 194. The city of Byzantium, however, continued to support his cause for two years longer; and when at last it was compelled to surrender, Severus inflicted cruel punishment upon the place, and demolished its fortifications. Clodius Albinus, the governor of Britain, who had from the first supported Severus, was now rewarded with the title of Cæsar, through which he acquired a claim to the succession; but a few years later, Clodius Albinus, finding that his life was threatened, took up arms against the emperor, and rallied round him all those who were discontented with the rigour of his proceedings. Severus accordingly was obliged to return from the east, and on his arrival in Gaul he fought a battle near Lyons in A. D. 197, in which the rebel chief was defeated and killed; all his relations and friends were afterwards put to the sword. In the following year he undertook an expedition against the Par-

thians, from whom he wrested the province of Mesopotamia. When at last he found himself the undisputed sovereign of the empire, he determined to improve the laws and their administration, in which endeavours he was ably assisted by the great jurists Papinian and Ulpian. Otherwise he managed the affairs of the state alone, leaving scarcely any power to the senate. Meanwhile the Caledonians renewed their fierce inroads into the north of England; in consequence of which Severus, accompanied by his two sons Caracalla and Geta, proceeded to Britain, A. D. 208. He advanced indeed far into the northern parts, but did not succeed in subduing the enemy until A. D. 210. He then completed and strengthened the fortifications between the Tyne and the Solway, and while thus engaged he was taken ill, and died on the 4th of February A. D. 211 at York.

4. CARACALLA.—Caracalla and Geta, the two sons of Severus, were destined by their father's regulation to govern the empire in common, and soon after his death they returned to Rome. They had hated each other from their boyhood, but had been obliged to conceal their feelings; now, however, they gave the reins to their passions, and their mother, Julia Domna, in vain attempted to mediate between them. At last, in A. D. 212, Caracalla murdered his brother in the very arms of his mother: Papinian, who refused to justify the act, was put to death, and all the friends of Geta shared the same fate. In order to satisfy his extravagant wants, Caracalla caused hundreds of persons to be murdered merely that he might obtain possession of their wealth; and when this source of revenue was drained, he devised a plan for increasing the taxes by conferring the franchise upon all the freeborn inhabitants of the empire. In the city of Rome he was so detested that he resolved to travel through the provinces, every one of which was ransacked to satisfy his avarice and gratify his love of debauchery. When at last he arrived at Alexandria in Egypt, he discovered that some wag had circulated certain pasquinades upon him. For this offence he punished the city, by letting his soldiers loose upon the helpless citizens, the greater part of whom were butchered. This happened in A. D. 215, when the streets of Alexandria are said to have been literally deluged with blood. Two years after this event the monster himself was murdered, A. D. 217, near Edessa, by his own soldiers, who were headed by Macrinus, the commander of the prætorians.

5. MACRINUS AND ELAGABALUS.—After the murder of Caracalla, Macrinus being proclaimed emperor, continued the

war against the Parthians which had been treacherously commenced by his predecessor, but he was soon obliged to seek peace by the payment of enormous sums to the enemy. Macrinus, a native of Mauritania, was a harsh and vulgar man, and was disliked by the soldiers as well as by the senate. Mæsa, the sister of Julia Domna, therefore, easily prevailed upon the soldiers to confer the diadem on her own grandson Elagabalus, who was at the time a priest of the Sun at Emesa, and he was proclaimed emperor on the 8th of June A. D. 218. Macrinus endeavoured to maintain himself against his rival, but was murdered at Chalcedon together with his son. Elagabalus, now the undisputed master of the empire, was quite a young man, but his brutal conduct and senseless extravagance soon created universal detestation. His behaviour often was such that it can be accounted for only on the supposition that he was really mad. He raised his grandmother to the rank of senator, and appointed a senate of ladies to regulate fashions and ceremonies; and lastly, by introducing at Rome the religious practices of the east, he opened the door to all the immoral excesses of the orientals. Mæsa, feeling alarmed about his safety, persuaded him to confer the title of Cæsar upon Alexander Severus, another grandson of hers. The request was complied with; Elagabalus, however, stimulated by jealousy of the Cæsar's popularity, soon afterwards attempted to murder him; but on the 11th of March A. D. 222, the young voluptuary, together with his mother, was put to death by the prætorians, who were completely disgusted with his conduct.

6. ALEXANDER SEVERUS.—Alexander Severus, though not yet seventeen years old, naturally succeeded to the throne by virtue of his rank of Cæsar. He was a mild and well-meaning person, but did not possess sufficient strength of character to face the dangers by which he was surrounded. Being guided by the advice of his mother Mammæa, who was favourably disposed towards the Christians, he did all he could to improve the morals and happiness of his people. The prætorians, however, were enraged at his even-handed justice, in the administration of which he was assisted by the great Ulpian, and they showed their exasperation by murdering the great jurist before the emperor's own eyes. Alexander Severus, however, had to contend not only against enemies at home, but the eastern frontier of the empire was attacked by foreign foes. In Asia a new Persian empire under the dynasty of the Sassanidæ had been formed; and, claiming dominion over all the countries which had once

belonged to the ancient Persians, they not only overturned the kingdom of the Parthians, but invaded Mesopotamia and Syria. In A. D. 231, Alexander Severus himself proceeded to the east to conduct the war against them. He seems to have been tolerably successful, and two years later he was enabled to return to Rome in triumph. Not long after his arrival in Italy he was informed that Gaul was attacked by the Germans, and he accordingly hastened to repel the enemy; but before he had an opportunity of meeting the invaders, both he and his mother were murdered by his soldiers, in the camp near Mayence, on the 10th of February A. D. 235.

7. MAXIMINUS, THE THREE GORDIANS, MAXIMUS, BALBINUS, AND PHILIPPUS.—Maximinus, a native of Thrace, was now proclaimed emperor. He was a rude soldier of great bodily strength, and an enemy of the Christian religion. On his accession he caused several of his own benefactors to be put to death, and visited in the same way those whom he suspected of being more attached to others than to himself. He carried on with great success the war against the Germans which had been commenced by his predecessor, and penetrated far into their country. His elevation, however, was disliked by the senate, which body, in A. D. 238, caused the army stationed in Africa to proclaim the aged Gordian emperor. The old man, not feeling himself strong enough for his position, associated his son, likewise called Gordian, as his colleague in the sovereignty; but the latter, scarcely a month later, was defeated and slain in battle by one of Maximinus' generals, and the aged father, in despair, put an end to his own existence. The senate, dreading the vengeance of Maximinus, conferred the imperial diadem upon Maximus and Balbinus, two distinguished senators; while Gordian, a grandson of the elder Gordian, and a boy only thirteen years of age, received the rank of Cæsar. Maximinus now marched with his army from Germany into Italy, which was seized with the greatest terror and alarm; but being unpopular with all parties, he and his son were murdered, in April A. D. 238, while besieging Aquileia, by their own soldiers, who were subjected to great hardships, and now joined Maximus, who was stationed with his army at Ravenna. The prætorians, on the other hand, disliking Maximus and Balbinus, who had been made emperors by the senate, murdered them in the month of July during the Capitoline games, and proclaimed the boy Gordian. The juvenile emperor was at first entirely under the influence of unprincipled persons; but in A. D. 241 he married a daughter of Misitheus, and henceforth allowed himself to be

guided by the wise councils of his father-in-law. Just at this time the Persians were making fresh attempts upon the Roman provinces; and Gordian, accompanied by his father-in-law, marched into Asia, and succeeded in expelling the enemy from Syria and Mesopotamia. Unfortunately for Gordian, Misitheus, who had held the office of commander of the prætorians, died in Asia; and his successor Philippus, an Arab by birth, treacherously created a mutiny among the soldiers, and thereby obliged Gordian to share the sovereignty with him; but in the month of April A. D. 244, Philippus caused the young emperor to be murdered at Circesium, and having concluded peace with the Persians, returned to Rome. During the few years he spent in Italy, he favoured the Christians, and showed a considerable degree of wisdom and moderation; but he was nevertheless unpopular, and it was in vain that he amused the people of Rome in A. D. 247 with the celebration of festivals in commemoration of the thousand years' existence of the city of Rome, for two years later, A. D. 249, the army in Mœsia proclaimed Decius emperor. The latter was willing to come to an understanding with Philippus; but as all proposals to this effect were rejected, the matter was decided by a battle near Verona, in which Philippus was defeated and killed.

8. Decius, Gallus, and Æmilianus.—Decius had been obliged to assume the imperial dignity against his will; but being once upon the throne, he determined to do all he could to save the empire. Imagining that the ancient virtue of the Romans could be revived by a restoration of ancient institutions and forms of worship, he commenced a relentless persecution of the Christians throughout the empire; but the disease from which Rome suffered was incurable, and the remedy applied by the emperor was of no avail. The more its internal weakness and decay became known to the barbarians on the frontiers, the bolder they were in their attacks. In A. D. 250, the Goths, a powerful tribe of Germans, crossed the Danube with an army of 70,000 men, and marched southwards into Thrace. Decius took the field against them, and forced them to retrace their steps across the Danube; but the brave emperor was murdered in A. D. 251, through the treachery of his own general Gallus, who was then himself proclaimed emperor by the legions. Gallus, unconcerned about the ravages made by the Goths in the north-eastern provinces, spent his time in idleness at Rome; but his general, Æmilianus, again drove the invaders back into their country beyond the Danube, and his soldiers, proud of their leader, invested him with the

imperial dignity. Æmilianus forthwith marched into Italy to crush his rival. He met him ready to do battle in Umbria; but Gallus and his son, whom he had raised to the dignity of Cæsar, were murdered by their mutinous soldiers in May A. D. 253. A few months later, Æmilianus also was killed by the fickle soldiers in the neighbourhood of Spoletium.

9. VALERIAN, GALLIENUS, AND THE SO-CALLED THIRTY TYRANTS.—While these things were going on in Italy, Valerian, the able commander of the legions on the Rhine, and a friend of the late emperor Gallus, came with his forces across the Alps to punish the murderers. His appearance alone established confidence in him, and being proclaimed emperor by his army, he was speedily recognised and welcomed by the senate. Valerian, seeing the safety of the empire threatened on all sides, made his son Gallienus his colleague. The condition of the empire was distressing, for a plague was raging in nearly all its provinces; and the emperor, with the best intentions to restore peace and happiness by a careful administration of justice and the removal of oppressive taxes, was not allowed to devote his energies to such useful internal reforms. The Goths invaded Mœsia; and other great German tribes, such as the Franks and Allemannians, were crossing the Rhine and invading Gaul, while the Persians in the east advanced westward as far as Antioch, which fell into their hands. Gallienus, in A. D. 256, conducted the war successfully against the Franks; and Valerian himself, two years later, proceeded to the east, where he recovered Antioch, and even penetrated into Mesopotamia; but, in A. D. 260, he was made prisoner by the Persians, and remained in captivity during the remainder of his life, experiencing the most cruel treatment at the hands of the barbarians, who soon recovered what they had lost, and carried their conquests even into Asia Minor. They were, however, not long afterwards driven back across the Euphrates by the brave general Balista. From this time down to A. D. 268 Gallienus was sole emperor, and did much to check the downward course of the empire; but even the best and most energetic ruler would have been unable to effect any permanent good. During his reign insurrections broke out in nearly all the provinces, each of which proclaimed an emperor of its own. The number of these candidates for imperial dignity amounted to about twenty; but it is customary to speak of that time as the period of the thirty tyrants. While thus the empire was tearing itself to pieces, the barbarians invaded it on several frontiers: the Franks and Allemannians even came down upon Italy, the

Goths invaded Asia Minor, and the Quadi, another German tribe, penetrated into Spain. Odenathus, king of Palmyra, that ancient and magnificent city of the desert, defeated the Persians, and asserted the independence of his kingdom, which was recognised by Gallienus. Postumus, a bold and successful general of Gallienus, had defeated the Franks, and then caused himself, in A. D. 258, to be proclaimed emperor in Gaul. There he maintained himself for nearly seven years, at the end of which he was murdered by his own mutinous soldiers. Macrianus, the governor of Syria, who had betrayed Valerian into the hands of the Persians, assumed the diadem in A. D. 261, but was overpowered by Odenathus, who was not only recognised in his independence, but made the colleague of Gallienus in A. D. 264. Passing over the majority of the usurpers, we shall only add that Aureolus, the last of them, assumed the diadem in Rhætia, A. D. 262, and invaded Italy. Gallienus himself undertook the war against him, and was besieging him at Milan when he was assassinated in his camp. Aureolus was nevertheless unable to maintain himself, and was killed in the same year.

10. CLAUDIUS AND AURELIAN.—After the murder of Aureolus, Claudius, who subsequently received the surname of Gothicus, was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers. Being not only a bold and brave warrior, but possessing a strong sense of justice, he determined to spare no efforts to drive the barbarians who had invaded the empire back into their own countries. He first attacked the Allemannians, who had entered Italy, and having defeated them on the banks of Lake Benacus, he marched, in A. D. 269, against the Goths, who were besieging the most important cities of Macedonia, but were compelled by the emperor, in a decisive battle, to retreat to the north. Claudius then made preparations for an expedition against Zenobia, who had succeeded her husband Odenathus on the throne of Palmyra, and had made conquests far and wide, Syria and Egypt forming provinces of her kingdom. But while engaged in these preparations, Claudius died at Sirmium, A. D. 270. The legions stationed at Aquileia then proclaimed his brother Quintillus; but learning after a few days that Aurelian was proclaimed in another part of the empire, Quintillus killed himself by opening his veins.

Aurelian, a native of Pannonia, followed the policy of his predecessor; and, after paying a short visit to Rome, he marched at the head of his army against the Goths. The hostile forces met on the banks of the Danube, and a battle was fought, which. though neither army could be said to be

victorious, led to the conclusion of peace and the surrender of the province of Dacia to the Goths. Aurelian now directed his arms against Zenobia, A. D. 272; and while his general Probus recovered Egypt, he himself wrested Syria from the queen by several battles. The year after, he besieged her in her own capital of Palmyra, on the surrender of which she became his prisoner. Having thus recovered for the empire the provinces of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, Aurelian hastened back to Europe to conduct the war against Tetricus, one of the usurpers that had started up in the reign of Gallienus, and was still maintaining himself in Gaul. In A. D. 274, a battle was fought near Chalons; but Tetricus, distrusting his own soldiers, surrendered to Aurelian, who now returned to Rome and celebrated his triumph over Zenobia. The brief remaining period of his reign was devoted to internal reforms, but the demoralization of the times was so great that even his best measures were unpopular. In the very year after his return to Rome he found it necessary to give employment to the restless spirit of his legions, and as the Persians were still troublesome on the eastern frontier, he marched out against them; but in the neighbourhood of Byzantium he was murdered by some of his own servants, by which they hoped to escape punishment for some offence they had committed. This happened in March A. D. 275.

11. Claudius Tacitus, Florianus, and Probus.—The unexpected death of Aurelian took the army by surprise; and not knowing whom to appoint as his successor, the senate was applied to, and several months elapsed, until at last the diadem was offered by the senate to Claudius Tacitus. On his accession he had already attained the age of seventy-five, but he nevertheless proceeded at once to the east, where he was enthusiastically received by the soldiers. He advanced into the interior of the country as far as Mount Caucasus; but broke down under the fatigues and hardships he had to endure, and died in the month of April A. D. 276. Tacitus had recommended Probus, the most popular among his generals, as a fit person to succeed him; and although on the emperor's death his brother Florianus assumed the sovereignty, the emperor's recommendation was followed up, and Florianus, after a reign of three months, was murdered by his own soldiers. Probus justified the expectations which Tacitus had entertained of him, for he proved himself to be both a brave general and a wise ruler. A great portion of Gaul was at that time in the hands of the Franks, Burgundians, Vandals, and other German tribes; but Probus, after a short stay at Rome,

marched with a powerful army into that country, and not only rescued a large number of Gallic towns from the hands of the barbarians, but pursued them across the Rhine, and secured the southern part of Germany by the establishment of Roman colonies, and by the construction of a long frontier wall. He next proceeded to Illyricum and Thrace, where he conquered the Sarmatians and other tribes; he then crossed over into Asia Minor, and marched into Syria and Egypt, expelling from the latter country a band of Nubians. The vigour and energy with which Probus executed his undertakings, and the success with which they were crowned, induced Narses, king of the Persians, to conclude peace with him. After this he returned through Thrace to Italy, and celebrated a magnificent triumph over the Germans and Nubians. Peace was now restored throughout the empire, and he employed his legions in a variety of useful works,—such as the rebuilding of ruined towns, draining of marshes, building of canals, and the like; but the strictness with which he exacted the prescribed work from the men led to an insurrection among them, in which the noble emperor was slain by the infuriated soldiers, A. D. 282.

12. CARUS, CARINUS, AND NUMERIANUS.—The legions now conferred the imperial dignity upon Carus, one of their ablest commanders, who raised his two sons Carinus and Numerianus to the rank of Cæsars. The Sarmatians, on hearing of the death of Probus, returned to Thrace and Illyricum, but were defeated by Numerianus, who conducted the war against them. The Persians also were again preparing for war, and in A. D. 283 the emperor, accompanied by his son Numerianus, set out against them. The Roman arms were everywhere victorious, and the emperor even advanced beyond the Tigris, when suddenly, on the 25th of December, he was killed by a flash of lightning. His two sons were at once recognised as emperors; but Numerianus, on his return westward, was murdered by his own father-in-law, A. D. 284. The army then proclaimed Diocletian emperor; and Carinus, who had hitherto spent a profligate life in Italy, now set out to assert his claims against his rival. But he had not advanced very far, when, in May A. D. 285, he was killed by a person whose wife had been ill used by him.

EXERCISES.

1. Who succeeded Aurelius? What was his character? What event changed his temper? Describe his conduct. How was his favourite treated? What led to his murder?

2. Who were discontented at the death of Commodus? On whom did they confer the crown? Describe his government. How long did

he reign? Who was his successor, and how did he obtain the throne? What caused his fall?

3. Who was the next emperor? What became of the prætorians? What rivals had Septimius? What became of them? What foreign wars did he carry on? Where did he die?

4. Who succeeded Septimius? What became of one of them? Describe the reign of the survivor. What occurred at Alexandria? What was the end of the tyrant?

5. What rival emperors claimed the throne? Which finally prevailed? Describe his character and behaviour. What was his end?

6. Who succeeded? Who was his adviser? How was Ulpian treated? Describe the emperor's foreign campaigns? How did he die?

7. Who was Maximian? What were his deeds on attaining the crown? What foreign wars did he undertake? How did he die? Who were the three Gordians? What became of the youngest? Who was the next emperor?

8. What did Decius attempt? What barbarous tribes invaded the empire? How did Gallus rule? Who was his successor and what became of him?

9. Who was Valerian? Who was his colleague? In what wars did they respectively engage? What became of Valerian? Who were the Thirty Tyrants?

10. What were the exploits of Claudius? Who was Aurelian? What victories did he gain in the East? Against whom did he contend in Gaul? What was his end?

11. Who succeeded Valerian? What caused his death? Whom did Probus succeed? What foreign wars did he undertake? What triumphs did he celebrate? How did he employ his soldiers in time of peace? What was his end?

12. Who were the colleagues of Carus? How did Carus die? What became of the two Cæsars?

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DIOCLETIAN TO THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE, A. D. 284—A. D. 395.

Diocletian and Maximian—Galerius, Constantius, Maxentius, Maximian Licinius, and Maximinus—Constantine—The Family of Constantine—Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian—Gratian, Theodosius, Valentinian II., Maximus, and Eugenius.

1. DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN.—Diocletian, a native of Dalmatia, was at the time of his accession prefect or commander of the prætorians. He was a man of humble origin, but had greatly distinguished himself by his valour, prudence, and ambition. His reign is memorable for the great changes he introduced into the administration of the empire. Every vestige which yet remained of the ancient republican institutions was done away with; the arbitrary power, hitherto exercised by

the soldiers, was broken; and the government of Rome assumed the character of an oriental despotism. Christianity, which had gradually made great progress in the midst of persecution, was spreading in all parts of the empire, and the pagan religions of the ancient world were giving way before it. Diocletian, well knowing the difficulties of the task which he imposed upon himself, assumed as his colleague Maximian, a rude but brave soldier, to whom he intrusted the western parts of the empire. Maximian at once undertook the war against the Bagaudæ or peasants of Gaul, who had been goaded into rebellion by the oppression of their governors. They were defeated in A. D. 286; and soon after, the Allemannians, who had crossed the Rhine and invaded Rhætia, were driven back into their own country. About this time the coasts of Gaul were frequently ravaged by pirates, among whom the Saxons were most conspicuous, and Maximian intrusted the command against these pirates to the Gallic chief Carausius, who however, after a short time, brought upon himself the suspicion of conniving at the doings of the marauders. Maximian accordingly ordered him to be put to death; but Carausius escaped into Britain, where, in A. D. 287, he assumed the title of emperor, and through his alliances with the Franks and Saxons, maintained himself in his position until A. D. 293, when he was killed by Alectus, another usurper, who ruled over Britain until A. D. 296. While Maximian was engaged in Gaul, Diocletian expelled the Allemannians from Rhætia, and then went to Asia Minor, where he took up his residence at Nicomedia, and in A. D. 292 raised two Illyrians, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius, to the rank of Cæsar. The emperor then divided the whole empire into four parts, assigning to Galerius, Thrace and the countries about the Danube; to Maximian, Italy, Africa, and the great islands in the western parts of the Mediterranean; and to Constantius, Mauritania, Spain, Gaul, and Britain; but, in order not to disturb the unity of the empire, none of his colleagues were permitted to undertake anything without Diocletian's sanction. Diocletian had reserved for himself the eastern provinces, and residing at Nicomedia, surrounded himself with all the pomp of an eastern court. In the very year in which these new arrangements were made, the Persians commenced invading Syria; a revolt broke out in Mauritania, and not long after two usurpers presented themselves, Julian in Italy, and Achilles in Egypt. The usurpers, however, were easily overpowered, and the insurrection in Mauritania was soon quelled by Maximian. In A. D. 295 Galerius, after waging a successful

war against several tribes about the Danube in modern Hungary, set out against the Persians. Although in his first campaign he was not very successful, yet in A. D. 298 he so completely defeated the enemy that they were obliged to sue for peace, and evacuate not only all Mesopotamia, but even some districts on the east of the Tigris. Meanwhile Constantius, after expelling the Franks from Gaul, crossed over into Britain, where he defeated Alectus, and again united Britain with the Roman empire. On his return to Gaul, he defeated the Allemannians in A. D. 301. Two years later, the four sovereigns had a conference at Rome, where they celebrated splendid triumphs over their vanquished enemies, and devised plans for stopping the progress of Christianity. After long deliberations, it was resolved to destroy all the Christian churches, to burn the Scriptures, to imprison the priests, and to employ every means calculated to lead to the desired result. This decree was rigorously executed in all the provinces except those governed by the mild and tolerant Constantius. Not long after this, Diocletian was taken ill: he returned to Nicomedia, and on the 1st of May A. D. 305 he resigned the sovereignty. He withdrew to a villa near Salonæ in Dalmatia, and obliged his colleague Maximian to follow his example. Diocletian henceforth lived as a private person until his death in A. D. 313.

2. Galerius, Constantius, Maxentius, Maximian, Licinius, and Maximinus.—As the title of Cæsar always conferred a claim to the succession to the higher title of emperor or Augustus, Galerius and Constantius at once assumed the reins of government, and appointed Valerius Severus and Maximinus Cæsars, assigning Italy and Africa to the former, and Egypt with Syria to the latter. When this arrangement was made, Constantine, known by the surname of the Great, hastened to York, where his father, the emperor Constantius, happened to be confined by an illness. The latter died on the 25th of July A. D. 306, and Constantine at once assumed the title of Cæsar, and the administration of the provinces which had been governed by his father. The emperor Galerius, though somewhat offended at the assumption of young Constantine, confirmed him in his dignity, because he knew him to be extremely popular with the soldiers. Galerius himself, on the other hand, was hated for his harshness and cruelty, in consequence of which the prætorians proclaimed Maxentius, the son of Maximian, emperor, whereupon old Maximian himself likewise resumed the purple. The empire thus had all at once three emperors or Augusti and three Cæsars, and

internal war was unavoidable. Valerius Severus commenced hostilities by marching into Italy against Maxentius; but he was deserted by his own soldiers, and put to death at Ravenna by Maximian, A. D. 307. Galerius next advanced with his army into Italy, and raised his friend Licinius to the imperial dignity, while Maximinus in the east also assumed the title of Augustus. Old Maximian, finding that he could not remain in Italy with safety, fled to Constantine at Trèves; but in consequence of a treacherous design against the life of his protector, which was discovered, he took to flight, and in A. D. 310 hanged himself at Marseilles. The year after this Galerius died, in consequence of his dissolute habits. Maxentius now prepared for war against Constantine, who however was beforehand with him, and defeated him in a great battle in the north of Italy, A. D. 312. Maxentius fled to Rome, but was thrown off his horse into the Tiber and drowned. No sooner had Constantine got rid of his rival than he was recalled to Gaul, which had again been invaded by the Franks; and while he was engaged in a successful war against them, disturbances broke out in the east between Licinius and Maximinus. The latter, however, was cut short in his career in A. D. 313, being poisoned at Tarsus in Cilicia. Only two out of the six rulers now survived, Constantine and Licinius, the former in the west, and the latter in the east; and the empire might have enjoyed peace; but the two men at the head of affairs were equally ambitious, equally cunning, and equally unscrupulous in the means employed to secure their ends. Constantine had a favourable opportunity presented to him for crushing his rival in A. D. 314, for he was informed that Licinius was an accomplice in a conspiracy against him. He accordingly marched with an army against him, and defeated him in two battles; but a peace was concluded, in which Licinius had to give up Greece, Macedonia, and Illyricum. For a period of seven years the rulers of the empire worked together harmoniously, while Constantine carried on successful operations against the Goths, large numbers of whom were taken into the service of the empire. At last, however, fresh hostilities broke out between the two emperors, and a battle was fought in A. D. 323, in which Licinius was completely defeated. He took to flight, but being overtaken he surrendered, and was soon after strangled in prison by the order of Constantine.

3. CONSTANTINE.—Constantine was now the undisputed sovereign of the empire, a position which he had been ambitious to occupy for years. The means he employed were

sometimes cruel and faithless; but if we judge of a man from the influence he exercised upon his contemporaries and posterity, it cannot be denied that Constantine in history deserves the surname of the Great. He was the first emperor who openly espoused the cause of Christianity. He, like his father, had always been tolerant towards the new religion, and in the battle against Maxentius the alleged miraculous appearance of a cross in the heavens is said to have led him to embrace the new religion. In A. D. 321, he issued the celebrated edict granting full religious liberty to all his subjects, in consequence of which the Christians were placed upon a footing of perfect equality with the pagans, and Christianity with incredible rapidity spread over all parts of the empire. There can be little doubt that Constantine himself was a very indifferent Christian, and that he favoured Christianity only because it was his personal interest to do so. But whatever may have been his motives, the fact which history must record is, that he was the first emperor who removed the disabilities under which the Christians had until then been suffering. At the same time, however, it is equally certain that he was the founder of the Roman ecclesiastical hierarchy which has been the source and origin of the corruptions and abuses that were subsequently introduced into the Christian church.

Constantine seems to have thought that the city of Rome, with its many ancient associations, was not a fit place for his immense reforms both ecclesiastical and political. He accordingly selected Byzantium for the capital of the empire, and changed its name into Constantinople. Nearly ten years, from A. D. 325 to A. D. 334, and enormous sums of money, were spent upon enlarging and fortifying the new capital. In that city he established his court, with its numberless officials and dignitaries, after the fashion of oriental despots. The changes he introduced into the government and administration were of a corresponding character. His object was to centralize all power in his own person and to connect all the parts of the empire with its centre in such a manner as to render their separate and independent existence a matter of impossibility. With this view he divided the whole empire into four prefectures, fourteen dioceses, and one hundred and sixteen provinces. The first prefecture, called the prefecture of the east, contained five dioceses, viz. the East, Egypt, Pontus, Asia, and Thrace; Illyricum, or the second prefecture, embraced Dacia, Macedonia, Greece, and Crete; the third prefecture, or that of Italy, consisted of Italy, the countries south of the Danube, Africa, and the islands in the west of the Me-

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against the German tribes on the Danube, and was now making preparations for resuming that against the Persians, in which his generals had latterly sustained some losses. Being jealous of Julian's success, he demanded of him a portion of his forces for the eastern compaign; but the soldiers, who were thoroughly attached to Julian, refused to leave him, and proclaimed him emperor at Paris, where he had his winter quarters. This happened in A. D. 360; and Julian, who had all along distinguished himself by his justice and moderation, now endeavoured to come to terms with Constantius; but all offers being rejected, Julian set out to meet his enemy. He had scarcely arrived in Illyricum when he received information that Constantius had suddenly died in Cilicia, A. D. 361.

Julian, known in history by the surname of the Apostate, had been brought up as a Christian; but being disgusted with the unprofitable squabbles or disputes then carried on among the different parties of believers, and still more perhaps by the abuses which already manifested themselves in the Christian churches, had renounced Christianity about ten years before his accession, and indulged in the delusive hope that happiness and prosperity might be restored by a revival of the ancient pagan religion. But with all his zeal for paganism, he was tolerant towards the Christians, and would even have restored the temple of Jerusalem for the Jews, had he not been prevented by reports that flames had issued from the ground when the work was commenced. He was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of philosophy, and well read in the Greek authors: he was severe towards himself, and hoped by his own example to induce others to lead a life of virtue and righteousness. But, well meant as his endeavours were, they could be of no avail, for Christianity had already taken too deep root in the hearts of millions, to whom it afforded comfort in their wretched existence, and the hope of everlasting happiness in a future world. After a short stay at Constantinople, Julian, at the head of a large army, set out against Persia, and succeeded in driving the enemy before him, though he had to contend with immense difficulties, as the Persians devastated the country through which they retreated. With undaunted spirit he traversed Mesopotamia as far as Ctesiphon, where he gained a great victory; but on the 26th of June A. D. 363, he was wounded either by an enemy or by some over-zealous Christian, and died in consequence.

5. JOVIAN, VALENTINIAN, VALENS, AND GRATIAN.—The family of Constantine had now become extinct, and the soldiers, again asserting their ancient prerogative, proclaimed

Jovian emperor. He was a sincere Christian, though tolerant towards the pagans, and a man of good judgment, though fond of indulging in sensual pleasures. His army was hard pressed by the enemy, and was suffering from want of provisions. In these distressing circumstances, he was obliged to conclude peace on any terms, and the Persians recovered all their provinces beyond the Tigris, and a great portion of Mesopotamia. He had scarcely reigned one year, when he died in Galatia, on his return to Constantinople, A. D. 364.

A few days later, the troops offered the diadem to Valentinian, a Pannonian, who took his brother Valens for his colleague, assigning to him the government of the east, with the capital of Constantinople, while he himself undertook the administration of the west. Valentinian reigned for more than ten years, and conducted the affairs of the empire with wisdom and moderation, allowing every one full liberty in matters of religion. In A. D. 367 he was taken seriously ill, and on recovering raised his son Gratian to the rank of Augustus. About this time the north of Britain was much harassed by the inroads of the Picts and Scots, and it was found necessary to strengthen the fortifications which had been raised against them. The Allemannians also had for some time past renewed their attempts upon Gaul; and Valentinian, who happened to reside at Paris, not only drove them back across the Rhine, but pursued them far into their own country, and afterwards increased the number of fortifications on the western bank of the river to deter the barbarians from all further attempts. In A. D. 371 we again hear of Saxon pirates infesting the coasts of Gaul, and a great body of them were captured and cut to pieces by the Romans. Soon after this, on being informed that the Sarmatians and other Slavonic tribes had invaded Pannonia, Valentinian himself undertook the command against them. He crossed the Danube, and inflicted fearful punishment upon the barbarians, by ravaging their country, and killing thousands without mercy. Valentinian had always been a man of very irascible temper, and while in the enemy's country, and addressing some ambassadors of the Quadi, he was seized with such a fit of rage that he burst a blood-vessel, and died at Bregetio on the 17th of November A. D. 375.

His brother Valens, a bigoted Arian, had to fight for his throne from the very day of his accession; for while he was engaged in Asia, Procopius caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at Constantinople, and maintained himself by the support of the Goths. But the usurper was overcome

in A. D. 366; and Valens, to chastise the Goths for having supported him, invaded their country, which he ravaged far and wide, and thereby compelled the enemy to sue for peace, A. D. 370. The Goths now gradually adopted Christianity; and, through the influence of Valens, the Arian doctrines were preached among them by Ulphilas, a Gothic bishop, who translated the Scriptures into what is called the Mœso-Gothic dialect. Some fragments of this translation are still extant, and are the most ancient specimens of the German language. But while civilisation and Christianity were thus spreading among the Goths, a formidable host of a half-savage Mongol race, called Huns, were advancing westward, and in A. D. 375, the year of Valentinian's death, threw themselves upon the Goths. The eastern Goths, or Ostrogoths, between the Lower Danube and the Dniester, being too weak to resist the invading hordes, were overpowered by them. The western Goths, or Visigoths, on the banks of the Danube, in vain endeavoured to defend themselves; and Valens allowed a portion of them to settle in the deserted districts of Mœsia and Thrace, on condition of their giving up their arms. Fortunately they did not comply with this condition, for in their new homes they had to endure fearful sufferings, in consequence of the marshy and deserted state of the country, as well as the greediness of their Roman rulers. Their chief at last called upon his people to rise against their oppressors, and, in conjunction with swarms of Huns, the Goths invaded Thrace, and devastated the country with fire and sword as they passed through it. At length, in A. D. 378, they were met by the army of Valens in the neighbourhood of Adrianople; but they gained such a decisive victory, that scarcely a third of the Roman army escaped, and Valens himself was burned to death in a house in which he had taken refuge. The barbarians now spread over Macedonia and Greece, and only a few fortresses resisted the conquerors through their impregnable positions. Gratian, who had in the meantime been successfully engaged against the Allemannians, on hearing of the death of his uncle, raised Theodosius, a distinguished Spaniard, to the rank of Augustus, A. D. 379, and assigned to him the prefectures of the East and of Illyricum.

6. GRATIAN, THEODOSIUS, VALENTINIAN II., MAXIMUS, AND EUGENIUS.—Theodosius, without delay, proceeded to Thrace, and with his well-disciplined army soon succeeded in crushing the barbarians. His quick and energetic proceedings so much overawed the Goths that they readily concluded peace, and promised to furnish their usual contingent of 40,000 men to the

imperial army. The Visigoths now obtained permanent settlements in Dacia and Mœsia. While Theodosius was thus actively engaged in the east, Gratian spent his time in pleasure and idleness. In A. D. 383, the legions stationed in Britain proclaimed Maximus emperor, who, having collected a numerous army, proceeded to Gaul against Gratian. The latter being hated by his own soldiers, was betrayed by them, and, during an attempt to escape, was overtaken and killed at Lyons on the 25th of August A. D. 383. Theodosius, desirous of avoiding a civil war, recognised Maximus as Augustus, on condition that he should not attack Valentinian II., who had obtained the same dignity from his father in A. D. 375, when he was only four years old. Maximus, notwithstanding this promise, invaded Italy A. D. 387; and young Valentinian, with his mother, fled to Theodosius, who now married Galla, a sister of Valentinian, although he had already two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, by a former wife. After this, Theodosius marched against the usurper Maximus, who was treacherously delivered up to him by his own soldiers and put to death. Theodosius then reinstated Valentinian in the sovereignty of the west, appointing Arbogastes his guardian and adviser. Valentinian, however, finding his mentor somewhat troublesome, removed his residence to Gaul, where soon after, A. D. 392, he was murdered, probably by a plot of Arbogastes. The latter, in order to avoid the appearance of aiming at the imperial dignity for himself, caused the eloquent Eugenius to be proclaimed emperor. But in A. D. 394, Theodosius took the field against the two confederates, whom he defeated in a battle near Aquileia. Arbogastes put an end to his own life, and Eugenius, being taken prisoner, was beheaded. Theodosius was now alone at the head of the Roman empire; but he did not long enjoy his position, for he died at Milan on the 17th of January A. D. 395.

Theodosius had been an energetic ruler, but his subjects were sorely oppressed by the heavy taxes which the circumstances of the times rendered unavoidable. His fanatical zeal against the Arian doctrines and against the pagans also were a source of great misery: numerous ancient temples and costly works of art were unmercifully destroyed by ruthless bands of monks traversing the provinces in all directions, and the unfortunate pagans were hunted out of every town and city. The emperor on one occasion humbled himself before the haughty and stern Ambrose, bishop of Milan. Britain was henceforth left almost unprotected; for after the usurper Maximus had quitted that province, the Romans were so fully

engaged in other quarters that they were unable to send any efficient force to maintain their authority.

EXERCISES.

1. Who was Diocletian? For what is his reign memorable? Who was his colleague? What war did Maximian undertake? Who was commissioned to attack the pirates, and how did he act? How did Diocletian divide the empire? Where did the emperors reside? What was resolved at the conference in Rome? How was the decree executed? What became of the two emperors?

2. Who succeeded, and who were then Cæsars? How many emperors and Cæsars were there at once? What became of Maxentius? How many of the six rulers survived in A. D. 313? How long did they agree? What was the end of their struggle?

3. What was the character of Constantine? What is said to have caused his conversion? What celebrated edict did he issue? Of what was he the founder? Where did he transfer the seat of government? What changes did he introduce into the administration? How did he divide the empire? How were the civil and military powers separated? What barbarous tribe did he settle in the empire? When and by whom was he baptized? Where did he die?

4. How had Constantine distributed the empire? What did Constantius do? How was the empire repartitioned? Where did Constantine hold his court? How did Constantius become sole master? How did Julian escape? By what surname is Julian known? How did he treat the Christians? What was his end?

5. Whom did the soldiers proclaim? What was his character? How did Valentinian govern? What wars did he undertake? What caused his death? Who opposed Valens? What is said of the conversion of the Goths? Who were the Huns? Narrate the invasions of the Huns and Goths. What was the fate of Valens?

6. Who crushed the barbarian invaders? Where did the Visigoths permanently settle? By whom was Theodosius opposed, and who were his colleagues? What was the character of Theodosius?

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE WESTERN HALF, A. D. 395—A. D. 476.

Arcadius and Honorius, Constantine, Attalus, Jovinus, and Constantius—Joannes and Valentinian III.—Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, and Severus—Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, Julius Nepos, and Romulus Augustulus.

1. ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS, CONSTANTINE, ATTALUS, JOVINUS, AND CONSTANTIUS.—Before his death, Theodosius had made arrangements that the empire should be divided between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. The former, being only eighteen years old, was placed under the guardianship of Ru-

finus, a Gaul, and was to reside at Constantinople as emperor of the east. Honorius, who was only eleven years old, received Stilicho a Vandal for his guardian, and was to be the emperor of the west, residing at Rome or Ravenna. The boundary between the two empires was formed by the Danube, the Drino Blanco, and a line drawn from Scutari in Illyricum towards the great Syrtis. This division could not but accelerate the downfal of the western half, which was both internally weaker and more exposed to the attacks of foreign enemies than the other. In addition to this, the emperors of the east not unfrequently guided and directed foreign invaders to the west, in order to save themselves. Honorius, being young and of a weakly constitution, amused and enjoyed himself in his palace at Ravenna, leaving the defence of the northern frontiers, and the whole of the internal administration, to his noble guardian, who was the ablest man both in the camp and in the council. Stilicho, being fully convinced that the division of the empire must lead to evil consequences, attempted to undo the work of Theodosius, whereby he drew upon himself the suspicion of Rufinus. In the very first year of his administration, the Visigoths, under their bold king Alaric, invaded Thrace and Greece. Stilicho offered his assistance to the eastern empire; and the offer being rejected, he caused Rufinus to be murdered by the Gothic troops stationed at Constantinople, A. D. 395. The successors of Rufinus also inherited his feelings towards Stilicho, whom they declared a public enemy. Meanwhile the Goths traversed and desolated Greece in all directions, advancing southwards as far as Sparta. In A. D. 397, Stilicho marched into Greece, and, but for the carelessness of his own generals, would have annihilated the Goths; as it was, however, they escaped into Epirus; and Arcadius, to win the favour of the formidable Alaric, not only gave him the government of a portion of Illyricum, but confirmed the sentence of his guardian, declaring Stilicho an enemy of the empire. An attempt to snatch Africa from Honorius failed, and Stilicho proceeded to Gaul to restore friendly relations with the neighbouring Germans.

Alaric, being commissioned to carry into execution the sentence against Stilicho, invaded Italy for the first time in A. D. 402; but he did not advance further than the city of Aquileia, being probably induced by bribes to give up the undertaking. But in the following year he returned, and began plundering the plain of Lombardy. All Italy was in the greatest alarm, and the Romans began to put their city in a state of defence. Stilicho now hastened to meet Alaric.

The two armies met near Pollentia; and Stilicho, though he gained some advantages, could hardly be said to be victorious, and Honorius was glad enough to conclude a peace with the Goths, in which he ceded the western part of Illyricum, and engaged to pay an annual tribute. Italy had scarcely recovered from these fears, when, in A. D. 406, Radagaisus, a Gothic chief, leading a host of 200,000 men, partly Goths and partly other Germans, came down from the Alps, inundating Italy. Stilicho, in a pitched battle near Fæsulæ, destroyed most of the barbarians, whose leader was killed during his flight. In order to effect this, Stilicho had been obliged to withdraw his forces from Gaul, and no sooner had they left, than hosts of barbarians, such as Allemannians, Burgundians, Vandals, and others, poured into that province. The towns on the Rhine were destroyed, and Gaul was devastated far and wide. About the same time, Constantine, a common soldier, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Britain, and, crossing the Channel, succeeded in making himself master of a great part of Gaul and Spain.

In A. D. 408, Alaric marched to the frontiers of Italy, demanding payment of the tribute which had been promised him. During the deliberations at Rome upon this subject, Stilicho advised the senate to comply with Alaric's demands; but as some one suggested that Stilicho might have formed a secret understanding with Alaric for selfish purposes, Honorius foolishly ordered his ablest servant to be murdered. At the same time he caused all Stilicho's friends and relations to be put to death. This act, and the murder of 30,000 German women and children whose fathers and husbands served in the Roman armies, produced among the soldiers the most fearful rage, and at once led them to join Alaric's standard. The latter now straightway proceeded to Rome, and commenced besieging it. The inhabitants were reduced to the last extremity, until famine and disease compelled them to surrender. Alaric however abandoned Rome, having received a large quantity of gold and other valuable commodities; but when after his departure he found that some conditions yielded by the Romans in their distress were not adhered to, he returned in A. D. 409 with reinforcements, and compelled the Romans to raise Attalus, the prefect of the city, to the rank of Augustus. Alaric then entered Rome, and treating Attalus as a mere tool, performed himself all the functions of a sovereign; but he soon grew tired of the nominal emperor, and stripped him of his purple in presence of the whole army. He now desired to come to an understanding with Honorius; but as the latter,

clinging to his dignity with incredible tenacity, began to bargain about the terms, Alaric again marched against Rome, which he entered for the third time on the 24th of August A. D. 410. His soldiers plundered the city, and some parts were destroyed by fire. Galla Placidia, the sister of Honorius, was carried off by Alaric as a hostage. After a stay of three days at Rome, he marched into Southern Italy, and suddenly died at Cosenza. His successor Adolphus, being prevailed upon by Placidia to make peace with her brother, marched with his Goths from Italy into Gaul, where the usurper Constantine was put to death in A. D. 411. Gaul seemed thus recovered for the empire, when Jovinus, supported by the Burgundians, assumed the imperial dignity at Mayence on the Rhine; but although at first countenanced by Adolphus, he was soon after made prisoner, and an arrangement was entered into whereby Adolphus was to marry Placidia and govern Gaul in the name of the emperor. The peace thus re-established, however, lasted only for a few years, for one of Honorius' generals in A. D. 414 drove him with his Goths out of Gaul. Adolphus then went to Spain, where he, or rather his successor Wallia, became the founder of the kingdom of the Visigoths. Placidia, who had remained behind, now married Constantius, the conqueror of Adolphus, who was raised to the rank of Augustus in A. D. 421, but died soon afterwards at Ravenna. When Constantius withdrew from Gaul, the Franks and Burgundians without difficulty made themselves masters of the country, the former establishing themselves in the northern parts of Gaul, and the latter in the country about the river Rhone and Mount Jura. Britain also was lost, for in A. D. 426 the last Roman garrisons were withdrawn, and the country was left an easy prey to the Picts, Scots, and Saxons. Thus one province after another fell off; while Honorius was spending his life in indolence and pleasure at Ravenna, where he died in A. D. 423.

2. JOANNES AND VALENTINIAN III.—At the time of Honorius' death, his sister Placidia was staying at Constantinople; and as no successor had been appointed, a person of the name of Joannes or John, who had acted as private secretary to Honorius, assumed the title of emperor at Ravenna. Theodosius II., who was then emperor of the east, proclaimed Valentinian III., a boy of six years old, emperor of the west, and supported his claims by sending an army against Joannes, who was defeated and killed at Aquileia, A. D. 425. Placidia henceforth, acting as the guardian of Valentinian, conducted the government of the west for a period of twenty-five years. The

circumstances of the empire were such, that even a much stronger hand than hers could have effected little; but as it was, the demoralized people of the west, though pestilence and famine were raging everywhere, endeavoured to forget their own misery by abandoning themselves to all kinds of pleasure and enjoyment. At the same time the barbarians invaded the frontiers on all sides, and province after province was lost. Bonifacius, the governor of Africa, being suspected by Placidia, was recalled; but fearing for his personal safety, he not only refused to obey, but called to his assistance Genseric, king of the Vandals, who had been established in Spain for many years. The Vandal king with an immense host of barbarians accordingly crossed over into Africa, from which it was afterwards found impossible to expel them. The whole province of Africa thus fell into the hands of the Vandals, and Bonifacius having repeatedly been defeated by them, was obliged to evacuate the province and return to Italy, where he died soon after. In A. D. 435 Placidia concluded a peace with Genseric, in which she formally ceded to him the greater part of Africa. Carthage, which still belonged to Rome, was taken a few years later by the barbarian, who treated its inhabitants with the most wanton cruelty. The war was thus continued notwithstanding the peace. and the coasts of Italy and Sicily were ravaged by the Vandal fleets. At length, when Valentinian found himself unable to cope with the barbarians, another attempt was made to secure peace by a treaty with Genseric, A. D. 442, in which all Africa, with the exception of Mauritania and the western portion of Numidia, was given up to the Vandals. In this way was formed the powerful kingdom of the Vandals in Africa, which continued to flourish for more than a century, and, notwithstanding the existence of a formal treaty of peace, constantly harassed the southern coasts of the empire.

The terrible hordes of the Huns at that time occupied the plains of the Danube and the Theiss. In A. D. 441 their king Attila, accompanied by many German tribes he had pressed into his service, ravaged and devastated the towns of Mœsia. Six years later, the same hordes with irresistible fury threw themselves into Thrace and Macedonia, and Theodosius, the emperor of the east, who was treated with insolence by the barbarians, had to purchase peace of them by the payment of an enormous sum of money. Attila seems to have resolved to destroy both the empires, for in A. D. 451 he advanced towards the Rhine, and his hordes crossed the river at several points. The most flourishing towns on that river

were reduced to ashes, and the barbarians penetrated into the interior of Gaul. But Aëtius, the brave commander-in-chief of the armies of the west, having gained over the Germans already established in Gaul, such as the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks, met the Huns in the plains of Chalons, on the river Marne. The bloody battle fought there saved Gaul and all Europe, for the Huns were completely defeated, which was mainly owing to the valour of the Visigoths, and 162,000 of them lay dead on the field of battle. The survivors returned across the Rhine. But in the very next year, A. D. 452, Attila and his hordes invaded Italy from the north-east, demanding Honoria, a sister of Valentinian, for his wife, with a portion of Italy as her dowry. Valentinian had no army to defend himself, and many of the most flourishing towns of Lombardy fell into the hands of the barbarians. Rome was in the greatest alarm; and an embassy, headed by Bishop Leo, appearing before Attila, at length induced him with rich presents to quit Italy. On departing, however, he threatened to return if Honoria was not given up to him. He directed his march a second time against Gaul; but being again defeated by the Visigoths and their allies, he and his hosts returned to the country about the Dannbe, where in A. D. 453 he suddenly died. The empire which the terror of his name had formed in the south-east of Europe now broke up, and the nations which had been obliged to submit to him recovered their independence. The Roman empire had been saved from the Huns through the valour and prudence of Aëtius; but the contemptible Valentinian, imagining that his general was harbouring ambitious designs, slew him with his own hands, A. D. 454. The wretched emperor survived this deed scarcely one year, for he himself was murdered by conspirators on the 16th of March A. D. 455.

3. Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, and Severus.—The day after the murder of Valentinian, Maximus, the head of the conspiracy, assumed the purple, and compelled Eudoxia, the widow of his predecessor, to marry him. In order to punish the presumptuous murderer, she invited Genseric the Vandal to come to her rescue. The Vandals accordingly appeared with a large fleet at the mouth of the Tiber, and marched along its banks towards the city of Rome. Terror preceded them everywhere, and all who were able took to flight. The cowardly Maximus would have done the same, had he not been slain during an insurrection of his soldiers. The Vandals now entered Rome, which they plundered and ransacked for a period of fourteen days. All the treasures of art collected

in temples and palaces were carried off by the barbarians and sent to Africa. A whole shipload of bronze statues was lost during the voyage. Thousands of prisoners also, and among them the empress Eudoxia and many senators, were conveyed to Africa. But Rome was not the only city that suffered during this visit of the Vandals, for Campania too was ravaged, and the cities of Nola and Capua were pillaged.

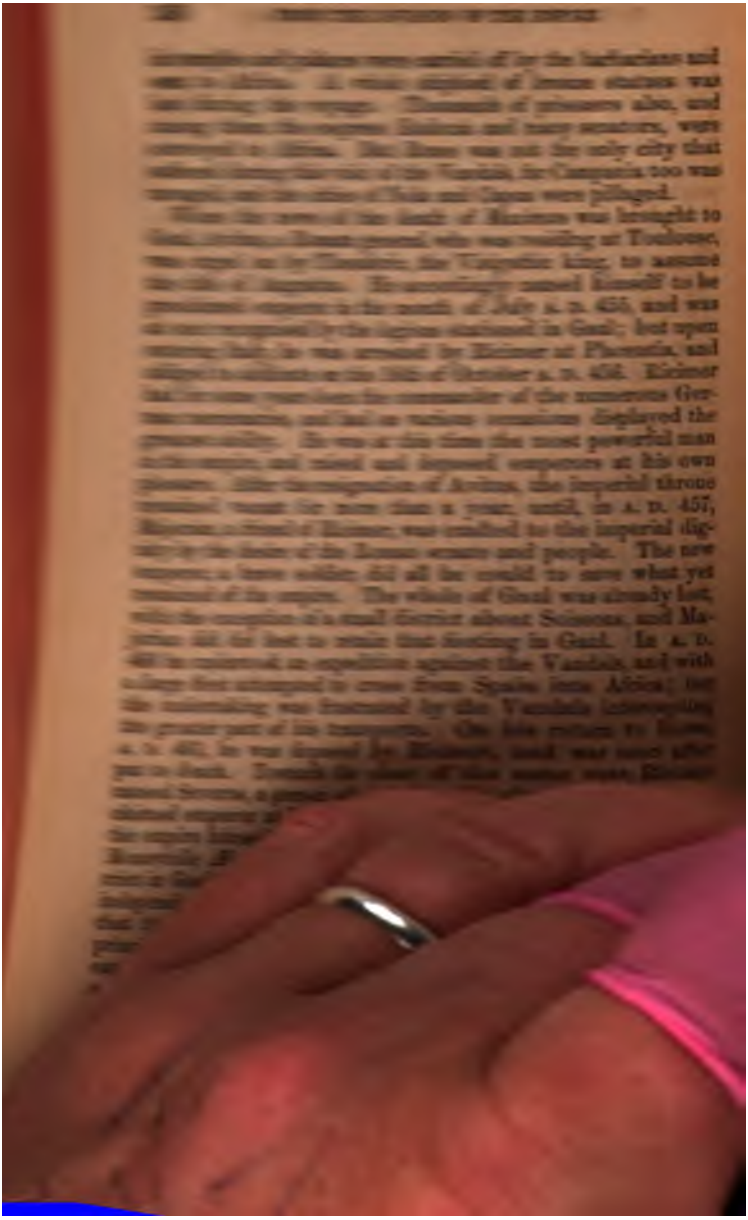
When the news of the death of Maximus was brought to Gaul, Avitus, a Roman general who was residing at Toulouse, was urged on by Theodoric, the Visigothic king, to assume the title of Augustus. He accordingly caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in the month of July A. D. 455, and was at once recognised by the legions stationed in Gaul; but upon entering Italy, he was arrested by Ricimer at Placentia, and obliged to abdicate on the 16th of October A. D. 456. Ricimer had for some years been the commander of the numerous German mercenaries, and had on various occasions displayed the greatest ability. He was at this time the most powerful man in the empire, and raised and deposed emperors at his own pleasure. After the resignation of Avitus, the imperial throne remained vacant for more than a year, until, in A. D. 457, Majorian, a friend of Ricimer, was exalted to the imperial dignity by the desire of the Roman senate and people. The new emperor, a brave soldier, did all he could to save what yet remained of the empire. The whole of Gaul was already lost, with the exception of a small district about Soissons, and Majorian did his best to retain that footing in Gaul. In A. D. 460 he undertook an expedition against the Vandals, and with a large fleet attempted to cross from Spain into Africa; but the undertaking was frustrated by the Vandals intercepting the greater part of his transports. On his return to Rome, A. D. 461, he was deposed by Ricimer, and was soon after put to death. Towards the close of the same year, Ricimer caused Severus, a person of questionable character, to be proclaimed emperor at Ravenna, but conducted the business of the empire himself, leaving Severus to enjoy the empty title. Meanwhile Ægidius, the Roman governor of the small district in Gaul still belonging to the empire, declared himself independent, and Marcellinus in Dalmatia did the same, so that these two provinces henceforth existed as independent principalities. In A. D. 465, Severus died; and Ricimer, without assuming the title of emperor, acted as sovereign, until A. D. 467, Leo, the emperor of the east, consented to the proclamation of Anthemius as emperor.

4. ANTHEMIUS, OLYBRIUS, GLYCERIUS, JULIUS NEPOS, AND

ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS.—Ricimer now thought it advisable to secure the friendship of the new emperor Anthemius, and, with this view, gave him his daughter in marriage. The Vandals still continued their piratical attacks on all the coasts of Southern Europe, and the emperors of both the west and the east now agreed to strike a decisive blow at them. Immense preparations were made: a great portion of the army had already landed in Africa, and was successful in its operations against the enemy, when, by the treachery or carelessness of the general Basiliscus, the Vandals were enabled to destroy one-half of the imperial fleet, A. D. 468. The rest of the armament was now obliged to return, and the Vandals continued their piracies unmolested. After this, Anthemius endeavoured to protect the Roman possessions in Gaul against the Visigoths, who were ever increasing their empire in that province.

The ambitious Ricimer could not endure Anthemius to act independently of him, and in A. D. 472 hostilities broke out between them, in which the latter was killed on the 11th of July. Ricimer took Rome by storm, and on the next day proclaimed Olybrius, a relation of Valentinian III., emperor. During this year Rome suffered severely from famine and epidemics; and the civil commotions agitating the city led to murder and rapine, as in times of civil war. On the 20th of August of this year Ricimer died, and the king of the Burgundians caused Glycerius to be proclaimed emperor at Ravenna in A. D. 473, for Olybrius had died soon after Ricimer. The emperor of the east, however, refusing to recognise any emperor set up by a foreign chief, raised Julius Nepos, a Dalmatian prince, to the throne, who, in A. D. 474, took his rival prisoner, and appointed him bishop of Salona. But Nepos himself was dethroned in the following year by Orestes, who, having been sent into Gaul to settle the terms of peace with the Visigoths, declared against Nepos. The latter now fled into Dalmatia, and Orestes caused the soldiers to raise his son Romulus to the throne.

Italy at this time swarmed with German mercenaries, all of whom were under the command of Odoacer, a man no less distinguished for his bodily strength than for his boldness and intelligence. When Romulus, who on account of his youth was surnamed Augustulus, was raised to the throne by the votes of the soldiers, they demanded one-third of all the land in Italy as a reward for their services. Orestes, acting as the guardian of his son, imprudently refused to comply with their request, whereupon all the German mercenaries in



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Italy, led on by their chief Odoacer, besieged Orestes at Pavia. Orestes was made prisoner, and put to death at Placentia towards the end of August A. D. 476. Several other cities likewise fell into the hands of the insurgents; and Romulus Augustulus, whose life was spared on account of his youth, laid down the purple of his own accord. The soldiers then offered to Odoacer the title of king of Italy; and he, accepting the honour, sent word to the emperor of the east that Rome no longer required an emperor, and demanded for himself the title of prefect and king of Italy. Romulus Augustulus spent the remainder of his life in retirement in Campania, and in the enjoyment of a liberal annuity. Thus ended the Roman empire of the west, which was henceforth governed by foreign princes, and was reduced to its natural limits of the peninsula of Italy. The eastern or Greek empire continued to exist for nearly a thousand years longer, until the fall of Constantinople, A. D. 1453.

EXERCISES.

1. Between whom was the empire divided? Who was the guardian of Honorius? By whom was Italy invaded and at whose suggestion? Where was Alaric met, and with what result? How was Stilicho treated? Describe the subsequent invasions of Alaric. What provinces did Honorius lose?

2. Who was the guardian of Valentinian III.? What was the condition of the people? How was the governor of Africa treated? How did he act? Where did the Vandals found a kingdom? Who was the new chief of the Huns? Give a sketch of his campaigns. What happened at Chalons? How was Aëtius treated?

3. Who succeeded Valentinian? By whom was Rome captured, and how was the city treated? Who commanded the German mercenaries? Whom did he successively raise to the throne?

4. Whom did Anthemius marry? What combined expedition was undertaken? What was its result? What was the state of Rome under Olybrius? Who was the last of the Roman emperors? What became of him? Who succeeded to his power and with what title? In what year did the empires of the west and of the east come to an end?

THE END.

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